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JOHN ADAMS.

Among the earliest settlers of the English colonies in New England was a family by the name of Adams. One of the grantees of the charter of Charles the First to the London Company was named Thomas Adams, though it does not appear that he was of those who emigrated with Governor Winthrop, in 1630.

It appears by the Governor's journal, that in 1634 there came a considerable number of colonists, under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Thomas Parker, in a vessel from Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, in the neighborhood of which is Braintree in Essex.

There was, it seems, after their arrival, some difficulty in deciding where they should be located. It was finally determined that Mount Wollaston, situated within the harbor, and distant about nine miles from the three mountains, and whence the intrusive merry mountaineer Morton had been expelled, should, with an enlarged boundary, be annexed to *Boston;* and the lands within that boundary were granted in various proportions to individuals, chiefly, if not entirely, of the new company from Ipswich.

The settlement soon increased; and feeling, like all the original settlements in New England, the want of religious instruction and social worship, found it a great inconvenience to travel nine or ten miles every Sunday to reach the place of their devotions. In 1636 they began to hold meetings, and to hear occasional preachers, at Mount Wollaston itself. Three years afterwards they associated themselves under a covenant as a Christian Church; and in 1640 were incorporated as a separate town, by the name of *Braintree.*

Of this town Henry Adams, junior, was the first town-clerk; and the first pages of the original town records, still extant, are in his handwriting. He was the oldest of eight sons, with whom his father, Henry Adams, had emigrated, probably from Braintree in England, and who had arrived in the vessel from Ipswich in 1634. Henry Adams the

elder, died in 1646, leaving a widow, and a daughter named Ursula besides the eight sons above-mentioned. He had been a brewer in England, and had set up a brewery in his new habitation. This establishment was continued by the youngest but one of his sons, named Joseph. The other sons sought their fortunes in other towns, and chiefly among their first settlers. Henry, who had been the first town-clerk of Braintree, removed, at the time of the incorporation of Medfield in 1652, to that place, and was again the first town-clerk there.

Joseph, the son who remained at Braintree, was born in 1626; was at the time of the emigration of the family from England, a boy of eight years old, and died at the age of sixty-eight in 1694, leaving ten children,—five sons and five daughters.

One of these sons, named John, settled in Boston, and was father of Samuel Adams, and grandfather of the revolutionary patriot of that name.

Another son, named also Joseph, was born in 1654; married Hannah Bass, a daughter of Ruth Alden, and grand-daughter of John Alden of the May Flower, and died in 1736 at the age of eighty-two.

His second son named John, born in 1689, was the father of JOHN ADAMS, the subject of the present memoir. His mother was Susanna, daughter of Peter Boylston, and niece of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, renowned as the first introducer of inoculation for the small-pox in the British dominions.

This JOHN ADAMS was born on the 30th October, 1735, at Braintree. His father's elder brother, Joseph, had been educated at Harvard College; and was for upwards of sixty years minister of a Congregational church at Newington, New Hampshire.

John Adams, the father, was a farmer of small estate and a common school education. He lived and died, as his father and grandfather had done before him, in that mediocrity of condition between affluence and poverty, most propitious to the exercise of the ordinary duties of life, and to the enjoyment of individual happiness. He was for many years a deacon of the church, and a select man of the town, without enjoying or aspiring to any higher dignity. He was in his religious opinions, like most of the inhabitants of New England at that time, a rigid Calvinist, and was desirous of bestowing upon his eldest son the benefit of a classical education, to prepare him for the same profession with that of his elder brother, the minister of the gospel at Newington.

JOHN ADAMS, the son, had at that early age no vocation for the Church, nor even for a college education. Upon his father's asking

him to what occupation in life he would prefer to be raised, he answered that he wished to be *a farmer*. His father, without attempting directly to control his inclination, replied that it should be as he desired. He accordingly took him out with himself the next day upon the farm, and gave him practical experience of the labors of the plough, the spade, and the scythe. At the close of the day the young farmer told his father that he would go to school. He retained, however, his fondness for farming to the last years of his life.

He was accordingly placed under the tuition of Mr. Marsh, the keeper of a school then residing at Braintree, and who, ten years afterwards, was also the instructor of Josiah Quincy, the celebrated patriot, who lived but to share the first trials and to face the impending terrors of the revolution.

In 1751, at the age of sixteen, JOHN ADAMS was admitted as a student at Harvard College, and in 1755 was graduated as Bachelor of Arts. The class to which he belonged stands eminent on the College catalogue, for the unusual number of men distinguished in after-life. Among them were Samuel Locke, some time President of the College; Moses Hemmenway, subsequently a divine of high reputation; Sir John Wentworth, Governor of the province of New Hampshire; William Browne, a judge of the Superior Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and afterwards Governor of the island of Bermuda; David Sewall, many years judge of the District Court of the United States in the district, and afterwards State of Maine; and Tristram Dalton, a Senator of the United States. Three of these had so far distinguished themselves while under-graduates, that, in the traditions of the College, it was for many years afterwards known by the sons of Harvard as the class of Adams, Hemmenway, and Locke.

John Adams, the father, had thus given to his eldest son a liberal education to fit him for the gospel ministry. He had two other sons, Peter Boylston and Elihu, whom he was educating to the profession which JOHN had at first preferred, of *farmers*. In this profession Peter Boylston continued to the end of a long life, holding for many years a commission as a justice of the peace, and serving for some time the town of Quincy as their representative in the legislature of the Commonwealth. He died in 1822 at the age of eighty-four, leaving numerous descendants among the respectable inhabitants of Quincy and of Boston. Elihu, at the commencement of the Revolution, entered the army as a captain, and with multitudes of others fell a victim to the epidemic dysentery of 1775. He left two sons and one daughter, whose posterity reside in the towns of Randolph, (originally a part of

Braintree,) Abington, and Bridgewater. The daughter was the mother of Aaron Hobart, several years a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and afterwards of the Council of the Commonwealth.

Among the usages of the primitive inhabitants of the villages of New England, a *liberal*, that is, a college education, was considered as an outfit for life, and equivalent to the double portion of an eldest son. Upon being graduated at the College in 1755, JOHN ADAMS, at the age of twenty, had received this double portion, and was thenceforth to provide for himself.

"The world was all before him, and Providence his guide."

At the commencement, when he was graduated, there were present one or more of the select-men of the town of Worcester, which was then in want of a teacher for the town school. They proposed to Mr. Adams to undertake this service, and he accepted the invitation. He repaired immediately to Worcester, and took upon him the arduous duties of his office; pursuing at the same time the studies which were to prepare him for the ministry.

His entrance thus upon the theatre of active life was at a period of great political excitement. Precisely at the time when he went to reside at Worcester, occurred the first incidents of the seven years' war, waged between France and Britain for the mastery of the North American continent. The disaster of Braddock's defeat and death happened precisely at that time, like the shock of an earthquake throughout the British colonies. Politics were the speculation of every mind —the prevailing topic of every conversation. It was then that he wrote to his kinsman, Nathaniel Webb, that prophetic letter which has been justly called a literary phenomenon, and which shadowed forth the future revolution of Independence, and the naval glories of this Union.

His father had fondly cherished the hope that he was raising, by the education of his son, a monumental pillar of the Calvinistic church; and he himself, reluctant at the thought of disappointing the hopes of his father, and unwilling to embrace a profession laboring then under strong prejudices unfavorable to it among the people of New England, had acquiesced in the purpose which had devoted him to the gospel ministry. But the progress of his theological studies soon gave him an irresistible distaste for the Calvinistic doctrines. The writings of Archbishop Tillotson, then at the summit of their reputation; the pro-

found analysis of Bishop Butler, with his sermons upon human nature and upon the character of Balaam, took such hold upon his memory, his imagination, and his judgment, that they extirpated from his mind every root of Calvinism that had been implanted in it; and the philosophical works of Bolingbroke, then a dazzling novelty in the literary world, although wholly successless in their tendency to shake his faith in the sublime and eternal truths of the gospel, contributed effectively to wean him from the creed of the Genevan Reformer.

About one year after his first arrival at Worcester, after much anxious deliberation and consultation with confidential friends, he resolved to relinquish the study of divinity, and to undertake that of the law. He accordingly entered the office of Col. James Putnam, then a lawyer of reputation at Worcester, and became at the same time an inmate of his house. With him he lived in perfect harmony for the space of two years, pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, the study of the law, and keeping at the same time the town school. In 1758 he completed his preparatory professional studies; relinquished his school, and returned to his paternal mansion at Braintree. He applied, though a total stranger, to Jeremy Gridley, then the most eminent lawyer in New England, and Attorney-general of the Province, to present him to the judges of the Superior Court for admission to the Bar. Mr. Gridley examined him with regard to his proficiency in the studies appropriate to his profession, and warmly recommended him to the Court, securing thereby his admission.

He opened an office, and commenced the practice in his native town. Two years after, in 1760, he lost his father; but continued to reside with his mother and brother till 1764. His attendance upon the Courts in the counties of Suffolk, and of the old colony, was assiduous; but an accidental engagement in a private cause, before the Court at Plymouth, gave him the opportunity to display talents, which brought him immediately into large and profitable practice. In 1762 the seven years' war was concluded by the cession to Great Britain and Spain of all the possessions of France on the continent of North America; and at the same time commenced in England the system of policy, which terminated in the Revolution of Independence. It commenced by an increased rigor of exaction and of restriction in the execution of the laws of trade. For this purpose the officers of the customs were instructed by an order of the royal council, to apply, in cases when they suspected articles of merchandize upon which the duties had not been paid, were concealed, to the justices of the Superior Courts, for *writs of assistance*, such as were sometimes issued from the Court

of Exchequer in England, authorizing them to enter the houses and warehouses of the merchants, to detect the unlawfully imported goods. This was a new and odious process, to which the merchants in the colonies had never before been subjected; and its legality was immediately contested before the Superior Court. It was substantially the same case as that of the general search warrants, which some years after kindled so fierce and inextinguishable a flame upon the prosecution of John Wilkes in London. The spirit of English liberty was as sensitive and as intractable in the colonies, as it ever had been in the mother country. The remark of Junius, that the dogs and horses of England lost their metal by removing to another hemisphere, but that patriotism was improved by *transportation*, meant by him for a sarcasm, was a truth too serious for the derision of a British statesman. The trial of John Peter Zenger, at New-York, had vindicated the freedom of the press, and the rights of juries, twenty years before they issued victorious from the re-considered opinions of Camden, and the prevaricating wisdom of Mansfield. And in the trial of the writs of assistance, at Boston, James Otis had

> ———"taught the age to quit their clogs
> "By the known rules of ancient Liberty;"

while the search warrants for the Essay on Woman, and the 45th number of the North Briton, and the Letter of Junius to the King, were slumbering in the womb of futurity.

John Adams, at the age of twenty-seven, attended as a member of the bar, the trial upon the writs of assistance, and witnessed the splendid exhibitions of genius and learning exerted in the cause of freedom by the pioneer of American Independence, James Otis. Small is the portion of mankind to whom it is given to discern the great events which control the destinies of nations in their seminal principles. The origin of the American Revolution has been usually ascribed to the Stamp Act; John Adams had seen it in the first campaign of the seven years' war in 1755. He saw and marked its progress on the argument of James Otis upon writs of assistance in 1762; a cause which, although it produced great excitement at the time, would scarcely have been noticed among the historical incidents of the term, but for the minutes, which his curiosity induced him to take of the trial as it proceeded, and from an imperfect copy of which, taken afterwards by one of the law students in his office, the account of it in the subsequent histories of that period has been published.

On the 25th of October, 1764, he was married to Abigail Smith,

second daughter of William Smith, minister of a congregational church at Weymouth, then in her twentieth year.

This was the memorable year of the Stamp Act, and from this year may be dated his first entrance upon political life. His friend and patron, Gridley, had just before that formed, with some other members of the bar and men of literary taste, a small social circle, who met once a week at each other's houses for the discussion of topics of literature and law, oral or in writing. Before this society MR. ADAMS one evening read a short paper of Observations on the Feudal and Canon Law, which he afterwards published in the Patriotic newspaper. The sensation which it produced on the public mind was so great, that in the following year it was re-published in London, and there attributed to the pen of Gridley. It has been frequently since re-published, and even now may be considered as a worthy precursor to the declaration of Independence.

Popular commotions prevented the landing of the Stamp Act papers, which had been sent from England to be used in all processes before the judicial courts.

Thomas Hutchinson, at once the Lieut. Governor and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province, had closed the sessions of the Court, on the pretence that they could not be lawfully held but by using the stamps.

The suspension of the Courts was severely felt throughout the Province ; but especially in the town of Boston, where, after some time, a town meeting was held, at which it was determined to present a petition to the Governor and Council, that the Courts of justice might be forthwith re-opened ; and they prayed to be heard by counsel in support of the petition. This was accorded, and the counsel appointed by the town were Jeremy Gridley, then Attorney-general, James Otis, and JOHN ADAMS, then a young man of thirty, and not even an inhabitant of the town. The Governor and Council had not ventured to refuse hearing counsel in support of the town petition ; but, perhaps, from the same timid policy, would hear them only with closed doors, and without admitting any supernumerary hearers. They suggested to the three gentlemen, who represented the town, the expediency of deciding between themselves the points upon which they proposed to support the petition. Mr. Gridley, the officer of the crown, without entering upon the question of right, represented only the general and severe distress suffered by all classes of the people, not only of the town, but of the whole province, by the suspension of all proceedings in the Judicial Courts. Mr. Otis argued, that from this unfore-

seen and unexampled state of things, the nature of the case gave a right of necessity, authorizing the Governor and Council to command the re-opening of the Court until the pleasure of the authority beyond the sea could be known. MR. ADAMS assumed, as the basis of his argument, that the British Parliament had no right of taxation over the colonies. That the Stamp Act was an assumption of power, unwarranted by, and inconsistent with, the principles of the English constitution, and with the charter of the Province. That it was null and void; binding neither upon the people, nor upon the courts of justice in the colony; and that it was the duty of the Governor and Council to require of the judges of the Courts, that they should resume their judicial Courts, and proceed without exacting from suitors, or applying to their own records, the use of any stamps whatever. This, and a cotemporaneous resolution of the same import, introduced into the House of Representatives of the Province by Samuel Adams, are believed to have been the first direct denial of the unlimited right of legislation of Parliament over the colonies in the progress of that controversy. In the argument before the Governor and Council, it could be assumed only by MR. ADAMS. Mr. Gridley being at that time the king's Attorney-general, and Mr. Otis having, in a celebrated pamphlet on the rights of the colonies, shortly before published, admitted the right of taxation to be among the lawful authorities of Parliament.

The Governor and Council deferred their decision upon the petition of the town, and before the period arrived for the next regular session of the Superior Court, the intelligence came of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and relieved them from the necessity of any decision upon it.

The selection of MR. ADAMS as one of the law council of the town of Boston upon this memorable occasion, was at once an introduction to a career of political eminence, and a signal advancement of his professional reputation as a lawyer. He had already, as chairman of a committee of the town of Braintree, draughted instructions, on the subject of the Stamp Act, to the Representative of the town in the general court, which had been published, and attracted much notice; and he was shortly after elected one of the select-men of the town.

He had formed an intimate acquaintance and warm friendship with Jonathan Sewall, who had married a Miss Quincy, a relation of MR. ADAMS. Sewall, a man of fine talents, distinguished as an orator and a writer, had commenced his career as a patriot; but had been drawn over by the artifices of Bernard and Hutchinson, and by lucrative and honorable offices, to the royal cause. Through him the office of advocate-general was offered to MR. ADAMS, which he declined, though

tendered with an assurance that no sacrifice of his political sentiments would be expected from him by his acceptance of the office. He was already known in that Court by the defence of Ansell Nickerson, an American seaman, who, in self-defence against a press-gang from a king's ship in the harbor of Boston, had killed, with the stroke of a harpoon, their commander, Lieut. Panton. MR. ADAMS'S defence was, that the *usage* of impressment had never extended to the colonies; that the attempt to impress Nickerson was, on the part of Lieutenant Panton, unlawful; and that the act of Nickerson in killing him was justifiable homicide. Although the commander of the naval force on the American station, Captain Hood, afterwards Lord Hood, a name illustrious in the naval annals of Britain, was a member of the Court which decided the fate of Nickerson, he was acquitted and discharged; and thus, even before the question of Parliamentary taxation had been brought to its issue in blood, it was solemnly settled that the royal prerogative of impressment did not extend to the colonies. That prerogative, so utterly irreconcileable with the fundamental principle of the great charter, "*nullus homo capietur*," that dark spot on the snow-white standard of English freedom, that brand of servitude which Foster, from the judicial bench, stamped on the forehead of the British seaman; that shame to the legislation of the mother country, was, by the exertions of JOHN ADAMS, banished from the code of colonial law.

In the inimitable portrait of the just man drawn by the great Roman Lyric Poet, he is said to be equally immovable from his purpose by the flashing eye of the tyrant, and by the burning fury of a multitude commanding him to do wrong. Of all revolutions, ancient or modern, that of American Independence was pre-eminently popular. It was emphatically the revolution of the people. Not one noble name of the parent realm is found recorded upon its annals, as armed in the defence of the cause of freedom, or assisting in the councils of the confederacy; a few foreign nobles, La Fayette, De Kalb, Pulaski, Steuben, Du Portail, Du Coudray, and a single claimant of a British peerage, Lord Stirling, warmed by the spirit of freedom, and stimulated by the electric spark of military adventure, joined the standard of our country; and more than one of them laid down their lives in her cause. Of the natives of the land, not one—not Washington himself—could be justly styled the founder of Independence. The title of *Liberator*, since applied to an immeasurably inferior man in another continent of this hemisphere, could not be, and never was, applied to Washington. Of the nation, formed after the revolution was accomplished, he was by

the *one people* placed at the head; of the revolution itself, he was but the *arm*.

North American Independence was achieved by a new phenomenon in the history of mankind,—by a self-formed, self-constituted, and self-governed Democracy. There were leaders of the people in the several colonies; there were representatives of the colonies, and afterwards of the States in the continental Congress; there was a continental army, a continental navy, and a continental currency; agents, factors, and soldiers; but the living soul, the vivifying spirit of the whole, was a steady, firm, resolute, inflexible will of the people, marching through fire and sword, and pestilence and famine, and bent to march, were it through the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds—to INDEPENDENCE.

The objections urged from time immemorial against the democracies of former ages were, the *instability* of the popular will—the impetuosity of their passions—the fluctuation of their counsels, and the impossibility of resisting their occasional and transitory animosities and resentments. Little of all this was seen in the course of the North American revolution. Even before its outset the people were trained to a spirit of self-control, well suited to prepare them for the trials that awaited them, and to carry them triumphantly through the fiery ordeal. No event contributed more to the formation of this spirit than the tragedy of the 5th of March, 1770, and its consequences. To suppress the popular commotions which the system of Parliamentary taxation had excited and could not fail to provoke, two regiments of soldiers were stationed at Boston; and becoming daily more odious to the inhabitants, were exposed to continual insults from the unguarded and indiscreet among them. On the 5th of March, a small party of the soldiers, under command of Lieut. Preston, were thus assailed and insulted by a crowd of people gathering round them, until they fired upon them, and killed and wounded several persons. The passions of the people were roused to the highest pitch of indignation, but manifested themselves by no violence or excess. Lieutenant Preston and six of the soldiers were arrested by the civil authority, and tried before the Superior Court for murder. They were so well advised as to apply to JOHN ADAMS and Josiah Quincy, known as among the most ardent among the patriots, to defend them; and they hesitated not to undertake the task. The momentary passions of the people identified the sufferings of the victims of that night with the cause of the country, and JOHN ADAMS and Josiah Quincy were signalized as deserters from the standard of freedom. How great was the load of public obloquy under

which they labored, lives yet in the memory of surviving witnesses; and is recorded in the memoir of the life of Josiah Quincy, which the filial veneration of a son, worthy of such a father, has given to the world. Among the most affecting incidents related in that volume, and the most deeply interesting documents appended to it, are the recital of this event, and the correspondence between Josiah Quincy the defender of the soldiers and his father on that occasion. The fortitude of JOHN ADAMS was brought to a test equally severe; as the elder council for the prisoners on trial, it was his duty to close the argument in their defence. The writer of this article has often heard from individuals, who had been present among the crowd of spectators at the trial, the electrical effect produced upon the jury, and upon the immense and excited auditory, by the first sentence with which he opened his defence; which was the following citation from the then recently published work of Beccaria.

"May it please your Honors, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury.

"I am for the prisoners at the bar, and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaria. 'If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind.'"

Captain Preston and the soldiers were acquitted, excepting two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, an offence which, being at that time entitled to the benefit of clergy, was subject to no sharper penalty than the gentle application of a cold iron to the hand, and, except as a warning for the future, was equivalent to an acquittal.

The town of Boston instituted an annual commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March, by the delivery of an oration to the inhabitants assembled in town meeting. This anniversary was thus celebrated for a succession of thirteen years, until the close of the Revolutionary War, when that of the 4th of July, the day of national Independence, was substituted in its place. The Boston massacre is, however, memorable as the first example of those annual commemorations by public discourses ever since so acceptable to the people.

Within two months after the trial of the soldiers, MR. ADAMS received a new testimonial of the favor and confidence of his townsmen, by their election of him as one of their Representatives in the General Court or Colonial Legislature. In this body the conflict of principles between metropolitan authority and British colonial liberty was pertinaciously maintained. Sir Francis Bernard had just before closed his inglorious career, by seeking refuge in his own country from the in-

dignation of the people over whom he had been sent to rule. He was succeeded by Thomas Hutchinson, a native of the province, a man of considerable talent, great industry, and of grasping ambition; who, in evil hour for himself, preferred the path of royal favor to that of patriotism for the ascent to power and fortune.

In times of civil commotion, the immediate subject of contention between the parties scarcely ever discloses to the superficial observer the great questions at issue between them. The first collision between Hutchinson and the two branches of the General Court was about the *place* where they were to hold their sessions.

Hutchinson, by instructions, secretly suggested by himself, convened the General Court at Cambridge, instead of Boston. They claimed it as a chartered right to meet at the town-house in Boston; and hence a long controversy between the Governor and the two houses, which, after three years of obstinate discussion, terminated by the restoration of the Legislature to their accustomed place of meeting.

By the charter of the colony, the members of the House of Representatives were annually elected by the people of the towns, and twenty-eight counsellors by the House of Representatives and council, with the approbation of the Governor. The judges of the Superior Court were appointed by the Governor and Council; and the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, and Judges were paid by annual grants from the General Court. In ordinary times the Council had always been more friendly to the Executive administration, and less disposed to resist the transatlantic authority than the House; but as the contest with the mother country grew warmer, and the country party in the House stronger, they dropped in their elections to the Council all the partizans of the Court, and elected none but the most determined patriots to the council board. The only resource of the Governor was to disapprove the most obnoxious of the persons elected, and thus to exclude a few of the most prominent leaders; but in their places the House always elected others of the same principles.

Among the devices to which, at the instigation of Hutchinson himself, the British Government resorted to remedy these disorders, was that of vacating the charter of the colony; of reserving to the King in council the appointment of the councillors, and of paying by Parliamentary authority the Governor and Judges, himself. The drift of these changes could not be mistaken. Hutchinson, who affected the character of a profound constitutional lawyer, entered into long and elaborate discussion of the rights and authority of Parliament in messages to the General Court, which were answered separately by re-

ports of committees in both Houses. In the composition of these papers MR. ADAMS was frequently employed, together with his distinguished relative, Samuel Adams. For the discussion of profound constitutional questions, the education of JOHN ADAMS as a lawyer, had pre-eminently qualified him to cope with Hutchinson in his black letter messages; and for the arguments on chartered rights and statutory law, he was relied upon beyond all others.

In 1772, having removed to his primitive residence at Braintree, he ceased to represent the town of Boston in the Legislature; but he was soon after elected to the council, and negatived by the Governor. In 1774 he was elected one of the members from the colony of Massachusetts Bay to the Continental Congress; and on the first meeting of that body, on the 5th of September of that year, took his seat among the founders of the North American Union. His service in Congress continued until November, 1777, when he was chosen by that body, in the place of Silas Deane, a joint commissioner at the Court of France, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee.

He embarked for France on the 13th of February, 1778, in the Boston frigate, commanded by Samuel Tucker; and, after a most tempestuous passage of forty-five days, landed at Bordeaux in France. The recognition by France of the Independence of the United States, and the conclusion of the treaties of commerce and of alliance between the two nations, had taken place between the appointment of MR. ADAMS and his arrival at Paris.

After the ratification of those treaties, Congress thought proper to substitute a single minister plenipotentiary at the court of France.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was appointed the minister. Arthur Lee had previously received a separate commission as minister to the Court of Spain. MR. ADAMS, without waiting for a letter of recall, returned in the summer of 1779, in the French frigate La Sensible, to the United States. The French minister to the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, together with his secretary of legation, since highly distinguished through all the scenes of the French Revolution, Barbe de Marbois, were passengers in the same frigate. They arrived at Boston on the 2d of August, 1779. Precisely at that time the convention which formed the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was about to assemble, and MR. ADAMS was returned to it as a member from the town of Braintree.

The convention assembled at Cambridge on the 1st of September, 1779, and, after appointing a committee of thirty-one members to prepare a declaration of rights, and a constitution for the Commonwealth,

adjourned over, on the 7th of that month, to the 28th of October ensuing, to receive the report of the committee. MR. ADAMS was a member of this committee, and made the first draught of the declaration of rights and of the constitution reported to the convention.

But, in the interval of the adjournment, MR. ADAMS had received from Congress a new commission for the negotiation of peace with Great Britain; in pursuance of which he embarked on the 14th of November, at Boston, in the same French frigate in which he had returned to the United States. Her destination was Brest; but having sprung a leak on her passage, and being in danger of foundering, she was obliged to make the first European port, which was that of Ferrol in Spain. There she arrived on the 7th of December, and thence MR. ADAMS travelled, in mid-winter, by land to Paris.

The events of the Revolutionary war were not yet sufficiently matured for the negotiation of peace. Soon after the appointment of MR. ADAMS to this service, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, then President of Congress, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Netherlands, with a separate commission to negotiate a loan of money in that country. On his passage to Europe, Mr. Laurens was captured by a British cruizer, and was lodged in the tower of London as a prisoner of state. MR. ADAMS then received a commission for the same service, and a new appointment was made of five commissioners for the negotiation of peace. These were JOHN ADAMS, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson; the last of whom was, however, prevented by the circumstances of his family from proceeding to Europe until after the conclusion of the peace. In July, 1780, MR. ADAMS left Paris and went to Holland, where, as a preliminary to the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce, it was necessary to procure the recognition of the United States as an independent power. The negotiation for a loan was a separate power to contract with individuals. In both these negotiations MR. ADAMS was eminently successful. The condition of the United Netherlands at that time required a different mode of negotiation from that which was suitable with the other nations of Continental Europe. They constituted a free, confederated republic; with a prince allied to many of the European sovereigns, and especially to the Kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, at their head. The politics of the country were discussed in the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces, and the freedom of the press opened avenues to the hearts of the people. In point of form, MR. ADAMS, as the representative of the United States claiming to be a sove-

reign and independent power, was to address the President of the States General, which he did in a memorial claiming to be received as a public minister; but setting forth all the arguments suited to produce an impression upon the minds of the people favorable to the objects of his mission. The President of the States General received the memorial, and laid it before the Assembly, who referred it to the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces for consideration; MR. ADAMS caused it forthwith to be published in the English, French, and Dutch languages in pamphlets; and it was re-published in many of the newspapers and other periodical journals of the country. No public document of the revolution was ever so widely circulated; for, as an extraordinary state paper, it was re-published in every country and every language of Europe. Its success was not less remarkable than the extent of its circulation. It set in motion the whole population of the Netherlands. Popular petitions, numerously signed, poured in upon the States of the provinces, praying for the recognition of the Independence of the United States, and the reception of MR. ADAMS as their minister. The similarity of the condition of the United States to that of the Netherlands in their struggle for Independence against Spain, strongly urged in the memorial, became a favorite topic for popular feeling in all the provincial Assemblies. The Leyden Gazette, edited by John Luzac, one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and one of the purest republican spirits of any age or clime, was engaged with deep and fervid interest in the cause of America, stimulated, even to enthusiasm, by the personal friendship formed with the kindred spirit of JOHN ADAMS. Another Frenchman of great ability, and highly distinguished as the author of the best history extant, in the French language, of the United Provinces, A. M. Cerisier, at the instance of MR. ADAMS, commenced a weekly journal under the title of "the Politique Hollandais," devoted exclusively to the communication of correct intelligence from America, and to set forth the community of principles and of interests between the new and the old republic. Having formed an intimate acquaintance with an eminent lawyer at Amsterdam, named Calkoen, that gentleman, who was a member of a political and literary society which held private weekly meetings, addressed sundry queries to MR. ADAMS respecting the state of the war, the condition of the people in the United States, and their dispositions with regard to the cause of Independence; which he answered in twenty-six letters, since frequently published. They were read and discussed at the meetings of the society, and furnished facts and argument for the friends of America and of freedom to counteract the influence

and the misrepresentations of the English party or Anglomanes, always numerous and powerful in the United Netherlands. The armed neutrality of the north, and the insolent, domineering tone of Sir Joseph York, the British minister at the Hague, contributed to the excitement of the people in favor of the American cause; and after patiently waiting till the state of public opinion was sufficiently matured, MR. ADAMS ventured upon a step, the boldness of which could only be justified by success. He addressed a note to the States General, which he delivered in person to their President, referring to the memorial which he had twelve months before presented; proposing a treaty of amity and commerce between the two nations, and demanding a categorical answer which he might transmit to his sovereign.

With this demand the States General of the United Netherlands promptly complied. The Independence of the United States was formally recognized by the reception of MR. ADAMS as their minister. A commission, consisting of one member from each of the Provinces, was appointed to treat with him; and with them he concluded the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce of 8th October, 1782; still recognized at this day by the United States, and by the present king of Holland, as the law of commercial intercourse between the two nations.

While conducting this political negotiation, MR. ADAMS had also contracted with three banking houses at Amsterdam, a loan of five millions of florins, at a yearly interest of five per cent.; furnishing, at a critical period of the war, a most seasonable supply to the exhausted treasury of the United States.

The day after the conclusion of the commercial treaty, and of a convention concerning maritime prizes of the same date, MR. ADAMS proceeded to Paris, where the negotiation for peace with Great Britain had already been commenced between his colleagues, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay; first with certain informal agents appointed by the British Government, and afterwards with Richard Oswald, formerly commissioned by George the Third to treat for peace with the commissioners of the United States of America. This negotiation terminated in the preliminary articles of peace of 30th November, 1782; succeeded by the definitive treaty also concluded at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1783.

The responsibilities of public men in stations of high dignity and trust in ordinary and prosperous times, are sufficiently arduous for the trial of the tempers of men; but the labors, the anxieties, the perturbations of mind incident to the condition of a man charged with the duty of maintaining, in a desperate conflict with oppressive power, not only

his own character and honor, but the existence of his country, can scarcely be conceivable to an American of the present age. They stagger the firmness of the most intrepid soul. They prey upon a bodily frame hardy as the Nemæan lion's nerve. Blessed with an excellent natural constitution, MR. ADAMS had in early youth ever plied it with intense study and indefatigable professional labor; from the time that he had become engaged in the service of his country, his days and nights had been devoted to the performance of his duties. In the midst of his negotiations in Holland he was brought within a hair's breadth of the grave by a typhus fever, in the summer of 1781, at Amsterdam; and a few days after the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, he was taken with a slow nervous fever, which again brought him to death's door. To promote his recovery, he was advised by his physician to indulge himself in a temporary relaxation from public business; and in October, 1783, he made his first visit to England, where, though in a private capacity, upon the meeting of Parliament, he heard the lips of George the Third on his throne, announce to his people, that he had concluded a definitive treaty of peace with the *United States of America.*

In January, 1784, he was suddenly called back to his post, in Holland, to negotiate a new loan of two millions of florins, which had become necessary for the punctual payment of the interest upon that which had been previously contracted, and which he effected upon terms equally advantageous. On his return to the Hague, he held conferences with the Baron de Thulemeyer, the minister of the great Frederic of Prussia, commissioned by him to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. While engaged in this discussion, Congress had appointed JOHN ADAMS, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, commissioners to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European powers, or of the Barbary States, which might be inclined to form such engagements.

The commission met at Paris, in August, 1794, and communicated, through the ministers of the several powers of Europe, their powers to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce. But under this commission, the treaty which had been already nearly concluded by MR. ADAMS and the Baron de Thulemeyer was the only one accomplished in Europe. In the spring of 1785, Doctor Franklin, at the age of nearly four-score, and laboring under the painful disease which finally closed his illustrious life, returned to the United States. Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and MR. ADAMS received a commission as the first minister plenipotentiary of the United

States at the Court of the British king. They still remained jointly charged with the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce, under which was concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, and a commercial treaty with Portugal; the ratification of which by the Portuguese Government was withheld, under the controling influence of Great Britain at that Court.

In May, 1785, MR. ADAMS proceeded to London, where he was received by George the Third as the minister of the Independent States of North America. He was authorized to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain of the most liberal character; but a proud and mortified spirit had succeeded in the breast of the monarch, and a resentful and jealous rivalry in the temper of the nation, to the cruel and desolating war, which for seven years had been waged to subdue the North American people. In that people, too, an irritated and resentful temper still rankled long after the conflict for independence had closed. Mutual charges of bad faith in failing to execute the articles of the treaty of peace, but two well founded on both sides, continued the alienation of heart between the nations, which the contest and the separation had caused. The British Government had, indeed, more than plausible reasons for declining to conclude a commercial treaty with a Congress, which had not even authority to carry into execution the stipulations of the treaty of peace. After a residence in England of three years, in June, 1778, MR. ADAMS returned to the United States, precisely at the moment when the ratification, by nine States, of the constitution, had established the form of government for the Union, under which we yet live.

During his residence in England he had composed and published, in three volumes, his Defence of the Constitutions of the United States, —a treatise upon Goverment, afterwards called the History of the principal Republics of the World; a work which has contributed more than any other ever written, to settle the opinions of mankind upon the great question, whether the legislative power of a free state should be vested in a single assembly, or in two separate co-ordinate branches; incidental to which is the question, not less important, of a single or a plural executive. Upon these points there is now scarcely any diversity of opinion among the enlightened theorists of Government.

Just before his return to the United States, MR. ADAMS had been elected, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, a member of Congress, under the articles of Confederation; but that body was in a virtual state of dissolution. The constitution of the United States had received the sanction of the people. The times and places for holding the

elections to organize the new government, had been fixed and the semblance of authority, which was all that the Confederation Congress had ever possessed, was vanishing even before the fabric of its more efficient substitute was completed.

In December, 1788, the first elections were held for carrying into execution the Constitution of the United States; at which George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and JOHN ADAMS was elected Vice-President of the Union; and four years afterwards they were both, in like manner, re-elected to the same offices. At the close of the second term, Washington declined a second re-election, and MR. ADAMS was chosen President of the United States.

During the eight years of Washington's administration, MR. ADAMS presided in the Senate. Throughout the whole of both those terms he gave to the administration a firm and efficient support.

Wherever there is Government, there must be councils of administration and collisions of opinion, concerning its mode and its measures. In all governments, therefore, there are parties which necessarily become braided, and, too often, entangled with the personal characters, principles, passions, and fortunes of individual men. No sooner had the founder of the Christian faith laid the corner-stone, for the establishment of the purest and most self-sacrificing of all religions, by the selection of the twelve apostles, than ambition and avarice, the thirst of place and treachery, were disclosed among them.

The Constitution of the United States was the result of a compromise between parties, which had existed from the first formation of the American Union. It drew together, by closer ties, the inhabitants of an extensive country, chiefly descended from one common stock, but greatly diversified by the varieties of climates, and of soils on which they had settled, and the oppositions of religious and political opinions in which they had originated. It made them permanently, and by political organization, what the enthusiasm of a common struggle for freedom, common sufferings and common dangers had made them for a time, in the war of Independence, but which the imbecility of the Articles of Confederation had failed to sustain, it made them *One People.* This stupendous monument of wisdom and virtue was accomplished by a party—then known by the denomination of *Federalists;* a name which, from various causes, has since become a term of reproach, but which, at that time, Washington and Madison were alike proud of bearing. In the disjointed condition of the confederacy, there was but one man whose talents and services had rivetted him in the gratitude and affections of all his countrymen, and that was, the

leader of the armies of the Revolution. He presided in the convention which formed the Constitution; and no one can analyse that instrument without perceiving that much of its character, and expecially the construction of its executive power, was adapted to *him*, and fashioned upon the preconception that the office would be occupied by him.

Nor was this anticipation disappointed. He was twice elected by the unanimous suffrages of the electoral colleges President of the United States. But he was scarcely installed in office, and the wheels of the new machine of government had scarcely began to move, when the spirit of party, transferred from the confederacy to the constitution, sought, in the principal subordinate officers of the government, leaders for the succession, to be thereafter seated in the chair of Washington. These leaders immediately presented themselves in the persons of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. In the diversity of the principles of these two men, conflict immediately sprung up, as to those which should govern the administration. Those of Hamilton were more congenial to the mind of Washington, and became the ruling principles of the administration; upon which Jefferson retired from public office, and was thenceforward looked up to as the head of the opposition to Washington's administration. Before the close of Washington's second term, Hamilton had also retired, but continued to support his administration.

At the time when MR. ADAMS was chosen President of the United States, he was supported by the party which had sustained the administration. Jefferson was his competitor, as the leader of the opposition. The contest was close. MR. ADAMS was elected by a bare majority of the electoral votes; and by the provision of the constitution then existing, that both candidates should be voted for as President, and that the person having the highest number of votes short of a majority should be Vice-President, Mr. Jefferson was elected to that office; and thus the head of the opposition became the presiding officer in the Senate of the United States, and at the next election, in December, 1800, was chosen President of the United States.

On the 3d of March, 1801, the official term of MR. ADAMS expired, and he retired to his residence at Quincy, where he passed the remainder of his days.

The administration of MR. ADAMS was but a continuation of that of his predecessor. It was the practical execution of the constitution, by the party which had formed and fashioned it, and had succeeded against a determined and persevering opposition in procuring its acceptance by the people. Mr. Jefferson had availed himself of the

passions and prejudices of the people to obtain the possession of power, constantly modifying his opposition according to the fluctuations of public opinion, and taking advantage of every error, in the policy of the federal party, to which an odious imputation could be applied. In the course of their common service in Congress during the War of Independence, and in that of the joint commission in Europe after the peace, the most cordial harmony had subsisted between him and MR. ADAMS. Their views of the French Revolution first divided them; and upon a re-publication in this country of one of Thomas Paine's revolutionary pamphlets, Mr. Jefferson, in a note to the printer, recommended it as a corrective to the *political heresies* then in circulation. The allusion was universally understood as intended to apply to the publication of certain essays, under the title of Discourses on Davila, and known to be written by MR. ADAMS. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to MR. ADAMS, disclaimed all such intention; but his subsequent deportment, and the essential diversity of their opinions, gradually alienated them from each other, and dissolved the personal friendship which had subsisted between them. During the administration of Mr. Jefferson there was no personal intercourse between them; but when the great questions of the rights of neutral commerce, and the outrageous impressment of American seamen by the naval officers of Great Britain, brought the Government of the United States into imminent danger, MR. ADAMS, though remaining in private life, sacrificed all his resentments and by numerous writings in the public journals, gave the most efficient support to the administration of his successor.

In 1809 Mr. Jefferson himself was succeeded by his friend and most faithful counsellor, James Madison. During his administration, the controversies with Great Britain, in the midst of which Mr. Jefferson had retired, rankled into a war, precisely at the time when the tide of victory and of triumph was turning in favor of Britain, against Napoleon, at the closing stage of that revolution by which France had passed from an absolute monarchy, through a brutal and sanguinary mock-democracy, to a military despotism, and thence to the transient resurrection of the dry bones of the Bourbons.

In the contests with Great Britain concerning neutral rights and impressment, which had preceded and led to the war, the interests of the commercial portion of the community were most immediately and deeply involved. But Mr. Jefferson's system of defence consisted in commercial restrictions, non-intercourse and embargoes, destructive to the very interest which it was the duty of the Government to maintain. The Cæsarian ambition of Napoleon, and his unparalleled suc-

cession of military triumphs, had alarmed the American politicians of the federal school, till they had frightened themselves into the belief that Napoleon Bonaparte was affecting universal empire, and about to become master of the world. They believed also, that Great Britain presented the only obstacle to the accomplishment of this design; and in this panic-terror, they lost all sense of the injustice and insolence of Great Britain exercised upon themselves. The restrictive system bore most impressively upon New England, to whose people, commerce, navigation, and the fisheries, were necessaries of life; and they felt the restrictive system as aggravation rather than relief. When the war came, it was a total annihilation of all their modes of industry, and of their principal resources of subsistence. They transferred their resentments from the foreign aggressor to their own Government, and became disaffected to the Union itself. The party in opposition to Mr. Madison's Administration prevailed throughout all the New England States; and had the war continued one year longer, there is little doubt that the floating projects of a separation, and of a northern confederacy, would have ripened into decisive action. Throughout the whole of this ordeal, MR. ADAMS constantly supported the Administration of Mr. Madison, till the conclusion of the peace at Ghent, in December, 1814, scattered the projects of the northern confederacy to the winds, and restored, for a short and happy interval, *the era of good feelings.*

In December, 1820, MR. ADAMS was chosen one of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States; and, together with all his colleagues of the electoral College of Massachusetts, voted for the re-election of James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins to those offices.

The last public service in which MR. ADAMS was engaged, was as a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of which body he was unanimously chosen President. Then in the 86th year of his age, he declined to assume the arduous duties of that station, but gave his attendance as a member throughout the sessions of the convention, and occasionally took part in their debates.

This election was communicated to MR. ADAMS by a Committee of the Convention, with the following resolutions:—

"In Convention, November 15, 1820.

"Whereas, the Honorable JOHN ADAMS, a member of this Convention, and elected the President thereof, has, for more than half a

century, devoted the great powers of his mind, and his profound wisdom and learning, to the service of his country and mankind :

In fearlessly vindicating the rights of the North American provinces against the usurpations and encroachments of the superintendant government :

In diffusing a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty among his fellow subjects, and exciting them to a firm and resolute defence of the privileges of freemen :

In early conceiving, asserting, and maintaining the justice and practicability of establishing the independence of the United States of America :

In giving the powerful aid of his political knowledge in the formation of the Constitution of his native State, which constitution became in a great measure the model of those which were subsequently formed :

In conciliating the favor of foreign powers, and obtaining their countenance and support in the arduous struggle for independence :

In negotiating the treaty of peace, which secured forever the sovereignty of the United States, and in defeating all attempts to prevent it ; and especially in preserving in that treaty the vital interest of the New England States:

In demonstrating to the world, in his defence of the Constitutions of the several united States, the contested principle, since admitted as an axiom, that checks and balances in legislative power, are essential to true liberty :

In devoting his time and talents to the service of the nation, in the high and important trusts of Vice-President and President of the United States :

And lastly, in passing an honorable old age in dignified retirement, in the practice of all the domestic virtues, thus exhibiting to his countrymen and to posterity, an example of true greatness of mind and of genuine patriotism :—

Therefore, Resolved, That the members of this convention, representing the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, do joyfully avail themselves of this opportunity to testify their respect and gratitude to this eminent patriot and statesman, for the great services rendered by him to his country, and their high gratification that, at this late period of life, he is permitted by Divine Providence to assist them with his counsel in revising the constitution which, forty years ago, his wisdom and prudence assisted to form.

Resolved, That a committee of twelve be appointed by the chair, to

communicate this proceeding to the honorable JOHN ADAMS, to inform him of his election to preside in this body, and to introduce him to the chair of this convention.

In this resolution, honorable alike to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to their representatives by whom it was adopted, and to him whom it intended to honor, is contained a concentrated summary of the life, character, and services of JOHN ADAMS. It closes with appropriate dignity his career as a public man.

Nor was he less exemplary in all the relations of private and domestic life. As a son, a husband, a brother, a father, and a friend, his affections were ardent, disinterested and faithful. His filial piety not exclusively confined to his immediate parents, carefully preserved the memorials of their ancestors, for three preceding generations, to the patriarch, first settler of Braintree, Henry Adams, and he caused to be erected in the cemetery, where

> "Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
> The rude fore-fathers of the hamlet sleep,"

monuments of the solid and simple granite from the soil on which they had settled, recording their names and years, spelt by no unlettered muse, but embracing in the inscription of little more than those dates, all that remains of their short and simple annals.

In the common experience of mankind, friendship, the pleasures of which are among the choicest enjoyments of life, is yet a sentiment of so delicate a texture, that it almost invariably sinks under the collision of adverse interests and conflicting opinions. With contests of opinion untainted with opposing interests, friendship may indeed subsist unimpaired; but in the discussion of religious or political opinions, which divide the minds of men, interest and opinion act and re-act upon each other, till the tender bloom of friendship withers and dies under their chilling frost. So fared it with the friendship formed by MR. ADAMS in early life with Jonathan Sewall. So fared it with the friendship formed in a common service, in the trying scenes of the war of Independence, with Thomas Jefferson. An affecting passage in his diary in 1774, records the pang with which he had parted from the friend of his youth, and an intercourse of mutual respect ,and good-will was restored between them after the close of the revolutionary war. A reconciliation with Mr. Jefferson was, by the interposition of a common friend, effected, after all collisions of interests had subsided; and for the last ten years of their lives a friendly and frequent correspondence was maintained, with mutual satisfaction, between them. Many of those

letters have been published, equally creditable to both ; and that of Mr. Jefferson upon the decease of Mrs. Adams, in October, 1818, as an effusion of sympathy with the severest of earthly afflictions, in the administration of tender and delicate condolence, has never been surpassed.

They died on one and the same day, the jubilee of the day of Independence—a coincidence so remarkable, that men of a religious turn of mind, in days of more devoted faith, would have regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, to stamp on the hearts of their country, and of unnumbered future ages, a more indelible remembrance of that memorable event, and of the share which they had jointly taken in its imperishable deed.

The death of JOHN ADAMS occurred on the 4th of July, 1826, at the moment when his fellow-citizens, of his native town of Quincy, were celebrating in a social banquet, to which he had been invited, the anniversary of the Nation's Independence. His physical faculties had gradually declined in the lapse of years, leaving his intellect clear and bright to the last hour of his life.

Some years before his decease he had, by two several deeds of gift, conveyed to the inhabitants of the town of Quincy, his library and several valuable lots of land, the proceeds of the income of which were to be devoted to the erection of a stone temple for the worship of God, and of a school-house for a classical school.

Shortly after his death, the worshippers at the first Congregational church in Quincy, of which he had been a member, determined, with the aid of his donation to erect the temple, which was done in the year 1828 ; and after it was completed, his mortal remains, with those of the partner of his life, were deposited side by side in a vault beneath its walls.

Within the same house, a plain, white marble slab, on the right hand of the pulpit, surmounted by his bust, (the work of Horatio Greenough,) bears the following inscription, written by his eldest son.

Libertatem, Amicitiam, Fidem, Retinebis.

D. O. M.

Beneath these walls
Are deposited the mortal remains of
JOHN ADAMS,
Son of John and Susanna (Boylston) Adams,
Second President of the United States.
Born $\frac{1}{11}$ October, 1735.

NATIONAL PORTRAITS.

On the fourth of July, 1776,
He pledged his Life, Fortune, and sacred Honour
To the INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.
On the third of September, 1783,
He affixed his seal to the definitive treaty with Great Britain,
Which acknowledged that independence,
And consummated the redemption of his pledge.
On the fourth of July, 1826,
He was summoned
To the Independence of Immortality
And to the JUDGMENT OF HIS GOD.
This House will bear witness to his piety;
This Town, his birth-place, to his munificence;
History to his patriotism;
Posterity to the depth and compass of his mind.
At his side
Sleeps, till the trump shall sound,
ABIGAIL,
His beloved and only wife,
Daughter of William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith.
In every relation of life a pattern
Of filial, conjugal, maternal, and social virtue.
Born November 11, 1744,
Deceased 28 October, 1818,
Aged 74.

Married 25 October, 1764.
During an union of more than half a century
They survived, in harmony of sentiment, principle and affection,
The tempests of civil commotion:
Meeting undaunted and surmounting
The terrors and trials of that revolution,
Which secured the freedom of their country;
Improved the condition of their times;
And brightened the prospects of futurity
To the race of man upon earth.

PILGRIM,

From lives thus spent thy earthly duties learn;
From fancy's dreams to active virtue turn:
Let freedom, friendship, faith, thy soul engage,
And serve, like them, thy country and thy age.

NATIONAL PORTRAITS.

Painted by G. Stuart. Engraved by G.F. Storm.

A Adams

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

Mrs. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, second President of the United States, was one of three daughters of William Smith, minister of a Congregational church at Weymouth in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and of Elizabeth Quincy, a daughter of Colonel John Quincy, the proprietor of Mount Wollaston. This spot, situated on the sea-shore in the Bay of Boston, about seven miles south-east of that city, was the seat of a settlement by Thomas Wollaston and thirty of his associates in 1625, five years before that of the Massachusetts Colony. Wollaston abandoned his settlement the next year, and left part of his men under the command of Thomas Morton. The settlement itself was broken up by Governor Winthrop in the Summer of 1630, shortly after the landing of his Colony. Mount Wollaston was in 1634 made part of Boston, and the land was granted to William Coddington. He soon after sold it to William Ting, one of the principal merchants of Boston, and one of the four first representatives of the town in the General Court. Ting had four daughters, between whom, after his decease, his inheritance was divided. One of those daughters married Thomas Shepard, the celebrated minister of Charlestown; and in the distribution of the estates, the farm at Mount Wollaston was assigned to her. Her daughter, Anna, married Daniel Quincy, son of the second Edmund Quincy, and was the mother of Colonel John Quincy. Mrs. Anna Shepard survived her son-in-law, and at her decease bequeathed the estate at Mount Wollaston to his son John Quincy, then a student at Harvard College. In 1716 he married Elizabeth Norton, daughter of John Norton, minister of the first Congregational church at Hingham, a town distant about six miles south-east of Mount Wollaston. Elizabeth Quincy was the eldest daughter of this marriage, and in 1742 became the wife of William Smith.

Abigail Smith, second daughter of William and Elizabeth Smith, was born on the $\frac{11}{22}$ of November, the day dedicated in the Roman

calendar to Saint Cecilia, 1744. Her father, grandfather, and great grandfather, had all been educated at Harvard College. The Shepards and the Nortons are commemorated among the most learned and talented of the clergymen who held so conspicuous a place in the primitive settlement of New England. Thomas Shepard, the father of him who married Anna Ting, is known from the Magnalia of Cotton Mather as one of the shining lights of the Reformation. His son was scarcely less distinguished, but died in the prime of life. That they are yet held in affectionate remembrance, is in evidence from the very recent fact, that a church adhering to the primitive Puritan doctrines, at Cambridge, has assumed and bears their name. John Norton, the minister of Hingham, was a nephew of his namesake, illustrious in the history of the Massachusetts Colony, and was himself many years eminent among the pastoral teachers of his age and country. The maternal grandfather of Abigail Smith, John Quincy, had been graduated at Harvard College in 1708. Her father, William Smith, in 1725. From this line of ancestry, it may justly be inferred that the family associations of Abigail Smith were from her infancy among those whose habits, feelings, and tastes are marked by the love and cultivation of literature and learning. The only learned profession in the first century of the settlement of New England was that of the clergy. The law formed no distinct profession, and the lawyers were little esteemed. Science was scarcely better cultivated by the practitioners of the medical art; but religion was esteemed among the most important of worldly concerns, and the controversial spirit with which it was taught, and which was at once the cause and effect of the Protestant reformation, stimulated the thirst for learning, and sharpened the appetite for the studies by which it is acquired.

The importance of learning and of literature to the cause of religion, and the entire dependence of practical morals upon religious principle, were so well understood by the first founders of New England, that the settlers of the Massachusetts Colony had scarcely thrown up sheds and piled log-houses to shelter their bodies from the storm, before their thoughts turned to the erection of the edifice which should serve them and their children for the habitation of the mind. In 1634 they made an appropriation for a school at Newtown, and in 1638 John Harvard, himself one of the most distinguished of their ministers, bequeathed at his decease the sum of £779. 17*s.* 2*d.* for the establishment of a college for the education of ministers of the Gospel. The bequest was immediately carried into effect. In 1642 the first

class was graduated—the town where the college was situated received the name of Cambridge from that in England, where all the religious teachers of the Colony had been educated; and the College of Harvard, made by the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts an university, bears the name of its founder in glory from age to age down to the extinction of time.

But in providing for the education of learned ministers of the Gospel, the Puritan fathers of New England were not equally solicitous to cultivate and adorn the minds of their *daughters*. The education of women was not neglected, but was generally confined to the concerns of the household. The women, indeed, mingled in the religious controversies of the first Colonial age, more perhaps than was conducive to their own happiness or to the tranquillity of their relatives; but the example and the fate of Mrs. Hutchinson and of her doctrines, appears to have operated rather as a warning than as an example to the women of the succeeding age. For the *practice* of the learned professions, women are by their sex as effectually unfitted as for fighting battles, holding the plough, felling the forest, or navigating the ocean.

The education of the daughters of Mr. Smith was in their father's house, with such advantages as a country clergyman in a village of New England, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, could afford. It was about that time that Goldsmith, in his Deserted Village, and in his Vicar of Wakefield, painted to the life that condition in human society, and that class of characters formed by it, of which Mr. Smith and his family might have served as the originals.

On the 25th of October, 1764, in the twentieth year of her age, Miss Abigail Smith was married to John Adams, then an attorney at law residing in Braintree, the town adjoining to Weymouth, and then rising to great eminence at the bar. He had until then devoted himself, with the most indefatigable industry, to the studies and the practice of his profession for about seven years, taking little part in the politics of the time. The subject of politics, in its most comprehensive sense, had, however, furnished a source of profound meditation to his mind for many years before that of his marriage. His letter of —— September, 1755, from Worcester to Nathan Webb, has been called a literary phenomenon. A shorter and far more carelessly written letter, in December 1761, is perhaps not less characteristic.

In November 1762, Miss Smith's elder sister, Mary, had been married to Richard Cranch, a native of Devonshire in England, who had

emigrated to this country in early youth, and was then settled at Germantown, part of the town of Braintree. In December 1761, Mr. Adams was upon a visit to Mr. Cranch at his house in Germantown; Mr. Cranch having an opportunity to enclose a letter which he had received the day before for Miss Mary Smith, put it under a cover thus addressed:—

"*Miss Polly Smith, Weymouth.*

"*Germantown, Dec. 30th.* 1761

"DEAR MISS POLLY,

"I was at Boston yesterday, and saw your brother, who was well. I have but a moment's notice of an opportunity of sending to you the enclosed, which I took at your uncle Edward's.

"I am, with compliments to your family,

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"R. CRANCH."

Under which Mr. Adams wrote as follows:—

"DEAR DITTO,

"Here we are, Dick and Jack, as happy as the wickedness and folly of this world will allow philosophers. Our good wishes are poured forth for the felicity of you, your family, and neighbors. My—I don't know what—to Miss Nabby; tell her I hear she's about commencing a most loyal subject to young George, and although my allegiance has been hitherto inviolate, I shall endeavor all in my power to foment rebellion.

"J. ADAMS."

To account for the preservation of this cover of a letter, not by the lady to whom it was addressed, but by her younger sister, then the loyal subject of young George, it may be necessary to remember that she was then just turned of seventeen; that it was shortly after the accession of George the Third to the throne; and that nearly three years after, on the 25th of October, 1764, she married the instigator to rebellion.

The year 1765 is memorable in the history of the world, and especially in that of the United States and that of Great Britain, as the year in which the British Parliament enacted the Stamp Act. Until that time Mr. Adams had taken little part in political affairs: his whole soul had been absorbed in the study and practice of his pro-

fession. But from the period of the Stamp Act he devoted himself to the cause of his country. In August of that year, in the midst of the violent fermentation occasioned by the resistance of the people to the execution of the Stamp Act, he published, in a Boston newspaper, the Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, in which the right of popular resistance against oppression is laid down as distinctly as in the Declaration of Independence, and almost in the same terms The right and the determination of resistance was formed in the mind of John Adams from the first appearance of the Stamp Act, and his partner imbibed his principles, and prepared herself for all the trials and sacrifices which it was apparent must in such a contest be required of her. For ten years after their marriage Mr. Adams continued with increasing reputation in the practice of the law, residing alternately in the mansion descended to him from his father, and at Boston. In September, 1774, Mr. Adams was called to attend the meeting of the first Congress at Philadelphia. That session was short; but from the meeting of the second session in May, 1775, it was not again discontinued till the close of the war of the Revolution, and during the whole of that time she resided at Braintree, with a family of infant children, far from the partner of her heart, and exposed with her family, during a great part of the time, to continual dangers, scarcely less formidable than those which her husband, far distant from her, was on his part called to encounter.

The first deadly conflict of the war was in April 1775, at Lexington. The incident which gave occasion to it was the detachment of a body of troops from the British army at Boston, sent out to intercept John Hancock and Samuel Adams, then on their way to attend the meeting of this second Congress. John Adams was not with them, but had left his home for the same destination several days before. But his dwelling-house, his wife, and children, were within a shorter distance from Boston than Lexington or Concord; and the same spirit which had instigated the British commander to send a body of men to seize the persons of two members of the Continental Congress, might with a much smaller force have visited the dwelling-house, and destroyed or made prisoners of the family of the third. For several months this danger was so imminent, that the library, and all the most valuable furniture of the house, were removed to a distant part of the town; nor were they restored till after the British army had, in April 1776, evacuated Boston.

Soon after the close of this trial, aggravated by an epidemic dysentery, with which, in the Autumn of 1775, Mrs. Adams herself and

every member of her family were severely afflicted, and to which her own mother, a brother of her husband, and a young woman living with her, in the course of two or three weeks fell victims, it was succeeded by another scarcely less distressing. After the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Yorktown, in November, 1777, Mr. Adams made a short visit to his family, and, while absent, was appointed a joint Commissioner at the Court of France, with Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, in the place of Silas Deane, who was recalled. In February, 1778, he sailed from Nantasket Roads in the Boston frigate, Captain Samuel Tucker; taking with him his eldest son, then a boy in the eleventh year of his age. It was the most perilous period of the war for a passage across the Atlantic. The Boston was an old brigantine converted into a small frigate of 28 guns, far inferior in force and weight of metal to the sloops of war of our present navy. While she was preparing for sea in the harbor of Boston, there was a British squadron anchored at no greater distance than Newport, Rhode Island, watching her departure; well informed of her destination, advised of the fact that a member of Congress was going out in her as a passenger, and eager in coveting possession both of the passenger and the ship. France had not then acknowledged the Independence of the United States, nor was it certain what reception the ship or Commissioner would find in that country. Mrs. ADAMS would for herself have been prepared to encounter every hazard with the partner of her life; but to expose her with three infant children, the whole family at once, was too much to undertake. She remained at Braintree, with three of the children.

In February, 1778, France acknowledged the Independence of the United States, and the treaties of commerce and of eventual alliance were concluded. Congress soon after determined to have, instead of three Commissioners at the Court of France, only one Minister Plenipotentiary, and the choice fell upon Dr. Franklin. Mr. Lee had another commission as Minister to Spain. Mr. Adams was left without being recalled, but without appointment to any other mission. He returned to the United States in August, 1779; but it had not been the intention of Congress to dispense with his further services in Europe. Soon after his return he received a commission to negotiate a peace with Great Britain; and in November, 1779, embarked again for France, taking with him his two elder sons, John Quincy and Charles—Mrs. ADAMS again remained with the two other children, a daughter and the youngest son, till after the conclusion of the peace. This was followed by a joint commission to Mr. Adams, with

Dr Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European or Barbary Powers; and to this succeeded the appointment of Mr. Adams as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain.

In May, 1784, Mrs. ADAMS embarked, with her only daughter, at Boston, to join her husband; she arrived at London in July. Mr. Adams was then at the Hague, in the discharge of the office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Netherlands, to which he had been appointed by Congress after the capture and imprisonment, in the tower of London, of Henry Laurens. About the same time of Mrs. ADAMS's arrival in England, Mr. Jefferson arrived in France, on the joint mission to negotiate commercial treaties, which negotiation was to be conducted at Paris. Mr. Adams, therefore, repaired to London to meet his family, and proceeded with them to Paris. They resided nearly a year at Auteuil, a village adjoining that of Passi, the residence of Doctor Franklin, until his final return to the United States, in 1785. He had, soon after the conclusion of the peace, requested of Congress permission to return, and to retire from the service of the Union. In the Spring of 1785 Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and Mr. Adams was commissioned as Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He proceeded with his family to London. There he resided three years, and in the Summer of 1788, at his own request, received permission to return home. He arrived at Boston precisely at the time when, by the ratification of nine States, the Constitution of the United States was received as the Supreme law of the land.

During her absence in Europe, Mrs. ADAMS had resided one year in France and three years in England. She had made several excursions of several days, to visit some of the beautiful scenes and magnificent country-seats which abound in England; and before her return had, in company with her husband, visited the scarcely less magnificent scenery of the Netherlands. In her own country she had, from her childhood, been accustomed to view and to admire the scenery between her native village and Boston, scarcely surpassed for natural beauty by any object upon earth. In France, in England, in Holland, she had seen the highest attainments of art and the most unbounded profusion of wealth lavished to improve and adorn the simple beauties of nature. In the inspection and enjoyment of these beauties she had taken great delight; and in familiar letters to her friends in this country had given descriptions of them, exceed-

ingly interesting to her correspondents, and which, even at this day, might be read with pleasure by the public.

Her letters to her husband and children, and to friends of her own sex, during the Revolutionary war, among which Mrs. Mercy Warren, sister of James Otis and wife of General James Warren of Plymouth, deserves to be particularly remembered, have an interest of a higher character. These ladies, familiar with the Roman history, and living in times when the exercise of the virtues of lofty patriotism were as necessary and as useful to the cause of liberty among the daughters of the land, as among their husbands and their brothers, corresponded with each other throughout the Revolutionary war—Mrs. ADAMS assuming the signature of *Portio*, and Mrs. Warren that of *Marcia;* and no correspondence of the Roman matrons bearing those names ever breathed a purer or more vivid spirit of patriotism. The letters of Mrs. ADAMS to her sons, while they were in Europe, were read and admired; and translations of more than one of them were made and published in some of the periodical journals of France.

The Government of the United States, under their present Constitution, was organized in April, 1789, and Mr. Adams was elected the first Vice President of the United States. He held that office during the eight years of President Washington's administration, and was elected his immediate successor. The sessions of the first Congress were held at the city of New York. In 1790 the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and continued there till December, 1800, when it was transferred to Washington, in the District of Columbia. During the sessions of Congress Mr. Adams usually resided with his family at New York, and afterwards at Philadelphia; and in the intervals between them, on his estate at Quincy, about eight miles distant from Boston. Mrs. ADAMS's health, as she advanced in years, became frequently infirm; but, with the exception of one or two sessions, when she was detained at home by indisposition, she resided with her husband at the seat of government.

In the administration of the first President of the United States two parties immediately disclosed themselves. They were at first merely the successors of those between which the struggle had been maintained for and against the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. The contest between persons and property, between the many and the few, inherent in the vitals of human society, was always fermenting in the community. These elements of contention, always acting and reacting upon the course of human

events, and always modified by them, gave rise to two systems of administration, the leading minds of which were Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Washington endeavored to hold the balance between them; and Mr. Adams, in his station of Vice-President, gave his cordial and effective support to the general measures of his administration. The French Revolution breaking forth in the same year when the Constitution of the United States went into operation, and involving in its progress all the elements of contention incident to human society, produced a conflict of principles which not even the moderation, the spotless integrity, and the enduring fortitude of Washington himself could assuage. Jefferson and Hamilton both successively retired from the administration, but neither of them to quiet retirement. The spirit of party turned with a virulence, incredible at this day, against Washington himself; and upon his retirement, Mr. Adams was, by a bare majority of the electoral votes over Mr. Jefferson, chosen the successor to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson himself being by the same election seated in the chair of the Vice-Presidency.

The party struggle continued during the administration of Mr. Adams; and the defection of Hamilton, with other leaders of the Federal party, turned the scale of the election of 1800. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were returned with an equal number and a majority of votes in the electoral colleges, and after a severe contest between them in the House of Representatives, Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States. Mr. Adams retired to private life, and spent the last twenty-five years of his life at his residence in Quincy, where, on the 4th of July 1826, he died.

Mr. Jefferson, in his Inaugural Address, alluded to the political intolerance which had marked the party conflicts of the preceding administrations, and urged his countrymen to *restore* harmony and affection to social intercourse. Of that intolerance, and of the bitter and rancorous imputations which are its most effective weapons, no man who had devoted his life to the service of his country ever endured more than Mr. Adams. From the day when he took his seat as President of the Senate, until that when his administration expired, he was assailed with unappeasable virulence; nor did it even cease with his retirement to private life. The exemplary deportment of Mrs. Adams towards persons of all parties during the twelve years of her husband's connexion with the government of the United States, disarmed even the demon of party spirit. She enjoyed universal esteem, as well for the endowments of her mind, as for the correctness of her deportment; and the only form in which personal male-

volence or party malignity could assume to turn her virtues into weapons of annoyance to her husband, was that of occasional insinuations that she exercised over him an uncontrolable influence, extended even to measures of public concernment; a slander not less unjust than all the others with which Mr. Adams was incessantly pursued.

During the remainder of her life Mrs. ADAMS shared the retirement of her husband, in the exercise of all the virtues that adorn and dignify the female, and the Christian character. As the mistress of a household, she united the prudence of a rigid economy with the generous spirit of a liberal hospitality; faithful and affectionate in her friendships, bountiful to the indigent, kind and courteous to her dependents, cheerful, good-humoured and charitable in the intercourse of social life with her neighbors and acquaintance. She lived in the habitual practice of benevolence, and of sincere, unaffected piety. In the year 1813 she was called to endure one of the severest afflictions that can befall the lot of humanity, the death of her only daughter, wife of Colonel William Stephens Smith of New York, after a long, lingering, and painful disease. She had before, at earlier periods of her life, lost one infant daughter and one son, Charles Adams, in the prime of life and the thirtieth year of his age.

Mrs. ADAMS herself died of a typhus fever on the 28th of October, 1818, at the age of seventy-four; leaving to the women of her country an example which, could it be universally followed, would restore to mankind the state of paradise before the fall.

Engraved by G F Storm from a Drawing by J B Longacre after the Portrait by J S Copley

SAMUEL ADAMS

Sam[l] Adams

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in September, 1722. His ancestors were amongst the early settlers of New England. The family has already been traced through its various branches, in the biographical sketch of President John Adams in this volume, and requires no further notice in this place. Samuel Adams was remarkable for steady application to his studies at the celebrated Latin school of Master Lovell. He entered Harvard university at an early age, and graduated in 1740, when he discussed the following question, "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." He maintained the affirmative in the presence of the king's governor and council; and thus evinced, at that early period, his attachment to the liberties of the people. About the same time he published a pamphlet, called "Englishmen's Rights," the expense of which he paid out of the small stipend allowed him by his father while he was a student.

It has been stated that he intended to have devoted himself to the gospel ministry, but that his father designed him for the bar; the intentions of both were overruled by his mother, and the course of life adopted was that of commerce, to which he was neither inclined nor fitted; and although he was placed under the charge of an eminent merchant, Mr. Thomas Cushing, he acquired little knowledge of business, nor was he able to support himself when he commenced business on his own account. The capital given to him by his father, by imprudent credits and other losses was soon consumed. His father died soon after, and as he was the eldest son, the care of the family and the management of the estate devolved upon him.

It may be seen that Mr. Adams took an interest in political subjects at an early period of life, both from the choice of his subject when he took his degree at Cambridge, and of his first pamphlet. Similar subjects occupied his attention afterwards. While yet a clerk to Mr

Cushing, he formed a club, each member of which agreed to furnish a political essay for a newspaper called the Independent Advertiser. These essays brought the writers into notice, and they were dubbed, in derision, the "Whipping-post Club." During the administration of Governor Shirley, he was known as a political writer in opposition to the dangerous union of too much civil and military power in the hands of one man. His ingenuity, wit, and clear and cogent arguments, gained public confidence, and laid the foundation for that influence over his fellow-citizens, which made him afterwards a mark for the especial dislike of the royalists.

In 1763 the agent of Massachusetts in London transmitted intelligence that it was contemplated, by the ministry, to tax the colonies. This soon produced a great excitement. It was expected that Governor Bernard would immediately call the Massachusetts house of assembly together, and that such instructions would be sent to the agent as might have a tendency to prevent the contemplated proceedings; but to the surprise of the public, the governor took no notice of the subject.

In May, 1764, a new election was held of members of the assembly, and according to custom, written instructions were prepared by the people for their representatives. MR. ADAMS was one of the five who were selected by the people of Boston on this occasion. The instructions were written by him, and were approved by the town. The document was published at the time in the Boston Gazette, and is said to be the first public document that denied the "supremacy of the British parliament, and their right to tax the colonies without their own consent."

It is well known that at this time a private club was formed in Boston for the purpose of deciding on the most proper measures to be taken at this important crisis. It was composed of the leading patriots of the day. It was the secret spring which set in motion the public body. MR. ADAMS was one of that patriotic conclave, and went with all his heart into the measures determined on, to resist every infringement of the rights of the colonies. The Stamp Act was a flagrant violation of them; and to suffer it to be quitely carried into effect, would establish a precedent and encourage further proceedings. MR. ADAMS was not averse to the manner in which the people evinced their determined opposition by destroying the stamp papers and office in Boston; but he highly disapproved the riots and disorders which followed, and personally aided the civil power in the suppression of them.

He was elected a member of the general assembly of Massachusetts in 1765, in the place of Oxenbridge Thatcher, deceased. He was soon after chosen clerk to the House, and acquired influence in the Legislature, in which he continued nearly ten years. He was frequently upon important committees, and was the soul that animated their most decisive resolutions. In 1767 he suggested a plan to counteract the operation of the act imposing duties. It was agreed to by the merchants, and nearly all of them in the province bound themselves, if the duties were not repealed, not to import any but certain enumerated articles after the 1st of January, 1769.

He was chairman of the committee appointed by the people of Boston to wait upon Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and urge the withdrawal of the British troops from the town, after the fatal affray of the 5th of March, 1770. MR. ADAMS, in a speech of some length, pressed the subject with great ability, and enumerated the fatal consequences which would ensue if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with. Hutchinson prevaricated, and denied that the troops were subject to his authority; but promised to direct the removal of the 29th regiment. MR. ADAMS again rose. Filled with the magnitude of the subject, and irritated by the manner in which it had been treated by the Lieutenant-governor, he replied with indignation and boldness, "That it was well known that, acting as governor of the province, he was by its charter commander-in-chief of his Majesty's military and naval forces, and, as such, the troops were subject to his orders; and if he had the power to remove one regiment, he had the power to remove both; and nothing short of that would satisfy the people; and it was at his peril if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with; and if it be longer delayed, he alone must be answerable for the fatal consequences that would ensue." This produced a momentary silence. It was now dark, and the people were waiting for the report of their committee. After a short conference with Colonel Dalrymple, Hutchinson gave his consent to the removal of both regiments, which was accordingly effected the following day.

As early as 1766 MR. ADAMS had been impressed with the importance of establishing committees of correspondence throughout the colonies; but the plan was not carried into operation until 1772, when it was first adopted by Massachusetts on his motion, at a public town meeting in Boston, and was soon after followed by all the provinces.

Every method had been tried to induce MR. ADAMS to abandon the cause of his country, which he had supported with so much zeal, courage, and ability. Threats and caresses had proved equally un-

availing. Prior to this time there is no certain proof that any direct attempt was made upon his virtue and integrity, although a report had been publicly and freely circulated that it had been unsuccessfully tried by Governor Bernard. Hutchinson knew him too well to make the attempt. But Governor Gage was empowered to try the experiment. He sent to him a confidential and verbal message by Colonel Fenton, who waited upon MR. ADAMS, and after the customary salutations, he stated the object of his visit. He said, that an adjustment of the disputes which existed between England and the colonies, and a reconciliation, was very desirable as well as important to the interest of both. That he was authorized from Governor Gage to assure him, that he had been empowered to confer upon him such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition that he would engage to cease in his opposition to the measures of government. He also observed, that it was the advice of Governor Gage to him, not to incur the further displeasure of his Majesty; that his conduct had been such as made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry VIII. by which persons could be sent to England for trial of treason or misprision of treason, at the discretion of a governor of a province; but by changing his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his peace with the king. MR. ADAMS listened with apparent interest to this recital. He asked Colonel Fenton if he would truly deliver his reply as it should be given. After some hesitation, he assented. MR. ADAMS required his word of honor, which he pledged.

Then rising from his chair, and assuming a determined manner, he replied, "I trust I have long since made MY PEACE WITH THE KING OF KINGS. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, IT IS THE ADVICE OF SAMUEL ADAMS TO HIM no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

With a full sense of his own perilous situation, marked as an object of ministerial vengeance, laboring under pecuniary embarrassment, but fearless of personal consequences, he steadily pursued the great object of his soul,—the liberty of the people.

The time required bold and inflexible measures. Common distress required common counsel. The aspect was appalling to some of the most decided patriots of the day. The severity of punishment, which was inflicted on the people of Boston by the power of England, produced a melancholy sadness on the friends of American freedom. The Massachusetts house of assembly was then in session at Salem

A committee of that body was chosen to consider and report the state of the province. MR. ADAMS, it is said, observed that some of the committee were for mild measures, which he judged no way suited to the present emergency. He conferred with Mr. Warren of Plymouth upon the necessity of sprited measures, and then said, "Do you keep the committee in play, and I will go and make a caucus by the time the evening arrives, and do you meet me." MR. ADAMS secured a meeting of about five principal members of the house at the time specified, and repeated his endeavors for the second and third nights, when the number amounted to more than thirty. The friends of the administration knew nothing of the matter. The popular leaders took the sense of the members in a private way, and found that they would be able to carry their scheme by a sufficient majority. They had their whole plan completed, prepared their resolutions, and then determined to bring the business forward; but before they commenced, the door-keeper was ordered to let no person in, nor suffer any one to depart. The subjects for discussion were then introduced by MR. ADAMS with his usual eloquence on such great occasions. He was chairman of the committee, and reported the resolutions for the appointment of delegates to a general congress to be convened at Philadelphia, to consult on the general safety of America. This report was received with surprise and astonishment by the administration party. Such was the apprehension of some, that they were apparently desirous to desert the question. The door-keeper seemed uneasy at his charge, and wavering with regard to the performance of the duty assigned to him. At this critical juncture, MR. ADAMS relieved him by taking the key and keeping it himself. The resolutions were passed; five delegates, consisting of SAMUEL ADAMS, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin, were appointed, the expense was estimated, and funds were voted for the payment. Before the business was finally closed, a member made a plea of indisposition, and was allowed to leave the house. This person went directly to the Governor, and informed him of their high-handed proceedings. The Governor immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly, who found the door locked. He demanded entrance; but was answered, that his desire could not be complied with until some important business, then before the house, was concluded. Finding every method to gain admission ineffectual, he read the order on the stairs for an immediate dissolution of the assembly. The order, however, was disregarded by the house. They continued their deliberations, passed all their intended measures, and then obeyed the mandate for dissolution.

After many unavailing efforts, both by threats and promises, to allure this inflexible patriot from his devotion to the sacred cause of independence, Governor Gage at length, on the 12th of June, 1775, issued that memorable proclamation, of which the following is an extract:—"In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last efforts within the bounds of my duty to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, SAMUEL ADAMS and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This was a diploma, conferring greater honors on the individuals than any other which was within the power of his Britannic majesty to bestow.

In a letter, dated April, 1776, at Philadelphia, while he was in congress, to Major Hawley of Massachusetts, he said, "I am perfectly satisfied of the necessity of a public and explicit declaration of independence. I cannot conceive what good reason can be assigned against it. Will it widen the breach? This would be a strange question after we have raised armies and fought battles with the British troops; set up an American navy, permitted the inhabitants of these colonies to fit out armed vessels to capture the ships, &c. belonging to any of the inhabitants of Great Britain; declaring them the enemies of the United Colonies, and torn into shivers their acts of trade, by allowing commerce, subject to regulations to be made by ourselves, with the people of all countries, except such as are subject to the British king. It cannot, surely, after all this, be imagined that we consider ourselves, or mean to be considered by others, in any other state than that of independence."

In another letter to James Warren, Esq. dated Baltimore, December 31, 1776, he said, "I assure you business has been done since we came to this place, more to my satisfaction than any or every thing done before, excepting the 'Declaration of Independence,' which should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775."

Notwithstanding we had raised armies, built navies, fought battles, and had seen the public grievances still unredressed, yet the minds of many of the leading Whigs were not prepared for the great question of a final separation of the two countries till July 4, 1776.

The character of MR. ADAMS had become celebrated in foreign countries. In 1773 he had been chosen a member of the society of

the bill of rights in London; and in 1774 John Adams and Doctor Joseph Warren were elected on his nomination.

Our patriots, in their progress to independence, had successfully encountered many formidable obstacles; but in the year 1777 still greater difficulties arose, at the prospect of which some of the stoutest hearts began to falter. It was at this critical juncture, after Congress had resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia to Lancaster, that some of the leading members accidentally met in company with each other. A conversation in mutual confidence ensued. MR. ADAMS, who was one of the number, was cheerful and undismayed at the aspect of affairs; while the countenances of his friends were strongly marked with the desponding feelings of their hearts. The conversation naturally turned upon the subject which most engaged their feelings. Each took occasion to express his opinions on the situation of the public cause, and all were gloomy and sad. MR. ADAMS listened in silence till they had finished. He then said, "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?" It was answered, "That the chance was desperate." MR. ADAMS replied, "If this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. The people take their tone from ours; and if we despair, can it be expected that they will continue their efforts in what we conceive to be a hopeless cause? Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people rather than damp their courage. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just and righteous, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

At this time there were but twenty-eight of the members of Congress present at Philadelphia. MR. ADAMS said, "That this was the smallest, but the truest Congress they ever had."

But a few days had elapsed when the news arrived of the glorious success at Saratoga, which gave a new complexion to our affairs and confidence to our hopes.

Soon after this, Lord Howe, the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, arrived as commissioners to treat for peace under Lord North's conciliatory proposition. MR. ADAMS was one of the committee chosen by Congress to draught an answer to their letter. In this it is stated, "That Congress will readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of an independent nation."

At this time the enemies of our freedom were busily employed to create disunion among its friends. Reports were circulated of attempts

to deprive General Washington of his command, in which, it was said, MR. ADAMS was a principal leader. This was not true. It is possible that some warm expressions may have fallen from him when he spoke of the multiplied disasters which attended our military operations, and of the effects they produced on the public mind; and for political purposes, our opponents gave to them, probably, a different and distorted sense.

In a letter to his friend, Richard Henry Lee, Esq. dated in 1789, in speaking of executive appointments as provided for in the constitution of the United States, he thus notices the subject: "I need not tell you, who have known so thoroughly the sentiments of my heart, that I have always had a very high esteem for the late commander-in-chief of our armies; and I now most sincerely believe, that while President Washington continues in the chair, he will be able to give, to all good men, a satisfactory reason for every instance of his public conduct. I feel myself constrained, contrary to my usual manner, to make professions of sincerity on this occasion; because Doctor Gordon, in his History of the Revolution, has gravely said that I was concerned in an attempt to remove General Washington from command; and mentions an anonymous letter to your late Governor Henry, which I affirm I never saw, nor heard of, till I lately met with it in reading the history."

In 1779 SAMUEL ADAMS was placed by the state convention on a committee to prepare and report a form of government for Massachusetts. By this committee he and John Adams were appointed a subcommittee to furnish a draught of the constitution. The draught produced by them was reported to the convention, and, after some amendments, accepted. The address of the convention to the people was jointly written by them.

In 1781 he was elected a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and was shortly afterwards elevated to the presidency of that body.

In 1787 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution of the United States. He had some objections to it in its reported form; the principal of which was to that article which rendered the several States amenable to the Courts of the nation. He thought that this would reduce them to mere corporations. There was a very powerful opposition to it, and some of its most zealous friends and supporters were fearful that it would not be accepted.

MR. ADAMS had not then given his sentiments upon it in the convention; but regularly attended the debates.

Some of the leading advocates waited upon MR. ADAMS and Mr.

Hancock, to ascertain their opinions and wishes, in a private manner. MR. ADAMS stated his objections, and said that he should not give it his support unless certain amendments were recommended to be adopted. These he enumerated. Mr. Hancock was president of the convention, and at that time confined to his house by indisposition. His opinion coincided with that of MR. ADAMS; and he observed, that he would attend and give it his support upon the same condition expressed by MR. ADAMS. This was mutually agreed to. MR. ADAMS prepared his amendments, which were brought before the convention, and referred to a committee, who made some inconsiderable alterations, with which the constitution was accepted. Some of these were afterwards agreed to as amendments, and form, at present, a part of that instrument.

In 1789 he was elected Lieutenant-governor of the State of Massachusetts, and continued to fill that office till 1794, when he was chosen governor of that state. He was annually re-elected till 1797, when, oppressed with years and bodily infirmities, he declined being again a candidate, and retired to private life.

After many years of incessant exertions, employed in the establishment of the independence of America, he died on the 3d October, 1803, in the eighty-second year of his age, in indigent circumstances.

The person of SAMUEL ADAMS was of middle size. His countenance was a true index of his mind, and possessed those lofty and elevated characteristics which are always found to accompany true greatness.

He was a steady professor of the Christian religion, and uniformly attended public worship. His family devotions were regularly performed, and his morality was never impeached.

In his manners and deportment he was sincere and unaffected; in conversation, pleasing and instructive; and in his friendships, steadfast and affectionate.

His revolutionary labors were not surpassed by those of any individual. From the commencement of the dispute with Great Britain he was incessantly employed in public service; opposing, at one time, the doctrine of the supremacy of "parliament in all cases," taking the lead in questions of controverted policy with the royal governors, writing state papers from 1765 to 1774;—in planning and organizing clubs and committees, haranguing in town meetings, or filling the columns of public prints with essays adapted to the spirit and temper of the times. In addition to these occupations, he maintained an extensive and laborious correspondence with the friends of American freedom in Great Britain and in the provinces.

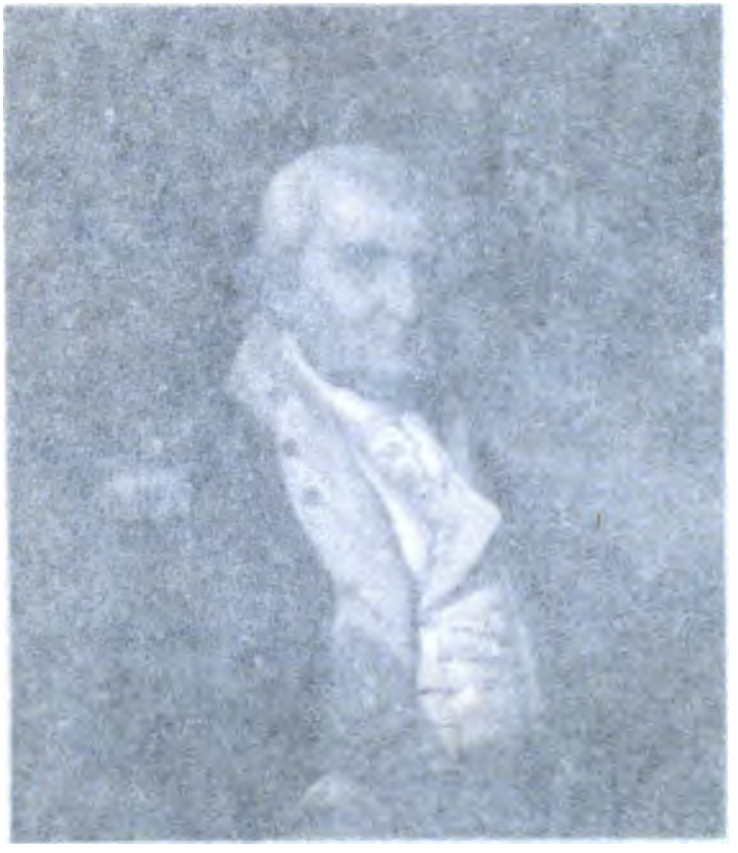
No man was more intrepid and dauntless when encompassed by dangers, or more calm and unmoved amid public disasters and adverse fortune. His bold and daring conduct and language subjected him to great personal hazards. Had any fatal event occurred to our country, by which she had fallen in her struggle for liberty, SAMUEL ADAMS would have been the first victim of ministerial vengeance. His blood would have been first shed as a sacrifice on the altar of tyranny, for the noble magnanimity and independence with which he defended the cause of freedom. But such was his firmness, that he probably would have met death with as much composure as he regarded it with unconcern.

His writings were numerous, and much distinguished for their elegance and fervor; but, unfortunately, the greater part of them have been lost, or so distributed as to render their collection impossible.

He was the author of a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough;—of many political essays directed against the administration of Governor Shirley;—of a letter in answer to Thomas Paine in defence of Christianity, and of an oration published in the year 1776.

Four letters of his correspondence on government are extant, and were published in a pamphlet form in 1800.

MR. ADAMS'S eloquence was of a peculiar character. His language was pure, concise, and impressive. He was more logical than figurative. His arguments were addressed rather to the understanding than to the feelings; yet he always engaged the deepest attention of his audience. On ordinary occasions there was nothing remarkable in his speeches; but on great questions, when his own feelings were interested, he would combine every thing great in oratory. In the language of an elegant writer, the great qualities of his mind were fully displayed in proportion as the field for their exertion was extended; and the energy of his language was not inferior to the depth of his mind. It was an eloquence admirably adapted to the age in which he flourished, and exactly calculated to attain the object of his pursuit. It may well be described in the language of the poet, "thoughts which breathe, and words which burn." An eloquence, not consisting of theatrical gesture or the pomp of words; but that which was a true picture of a heart glowing with the sublime enthusiasm and ardor of patriotism; an eloquence, to which his fellow-citizens listened with applause and rapture; and little inferior to the best models of antiquity, for simplicity, majesty, and persuasion.



Engraved by F. Wellmore from a Miniature by Malbone

MAJOR GENERAL

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

"For these are the men, that when they have played their parts and had their exits, must step out, and give the moral of their scenes: and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices." SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY was one of that race, or order of men, who are now nearly, if not quite, extinct in South Carolina. He lived at that fortunate period when a classical and highly-finished education was deemed indispensable, not only for him who had his own fortune to build up, but also for him who had a fortune to spend. The direct trade between the Mother country and the Province, created by the valuable staple products of Rice and Indigo, put it in the power of the planters of South Carolina to send their sons to England with remarkable facility. In proportion, therefore, to population and extent of territory, the number of her young men educated in the English universities far exceeded that of any other of the Colonies. Thus, at the very commencement of our disputes with the Mother country she possessed a band of learned, intelligent, and accomplished gentlemen, fit either for the council or the field; and whose knowledge of the true principles of constitutional liberty gave that high tone to public sentiment, which mainly contributed to bear the people triumphant through that terrible period, which was truly and emphatically said to have "tried men's souls." Among those patriotic men, the subject of this memoir stood in the very first rank; and we shall now attempt to give a brief sketch of his life, which was long, useful, and honorable to his country.

The ancestor of General PINCKNEY came over to South Carolina in the year 1692. From him descended CHARLES, commonly known by the name of Chief Justice Pinckney, a man of great integrity, and of considerable eminence under the Provincial government. The Chief Justice was twice married. His second wife was Eliza Lucas, daughter of George Lucas, a Colonel in the British

army and Governor of Antigua; and on the 25th day of February, 1746, she gave birth to General PINCKNEY at Charleston. In the year 1753, being then seven years old, he was taken over to England by his father, with his brother, the late Major-general Thomas Pinckney. The Chief Justice was one of those sensible men who valued education and moral discipline as far beyond the mere advantages of wealth, and he resolved, even though it might impair the patrimony of his sons, to buy it for them at the highest cost. Accordingly, in his will he enjoins that they shall be thoroughly educated before returning to America; and that in case the income of his estate proved inadequate, a portion of the estate itself must be sold to accomplish this great object of his parental solicitude.

After five years of private tuition, General PINCKNEY was considered as well fitted for Westminster, and in 1758 he was placed by his father at that celebrated school, then under the care of a very distinguished scholar, Doctor Markham, who was afterwards advanced to the See of York. There his industry and good conduct won the esteem of the master; while he there, too, imbibed that classical taste and love of study, which, during an unusually long and eventful life, constituted both its ornament and its solace. That he stood high in the estimation of the master, may be inferred from the following fact. An occurrence in the school having, on investigation, produced much contradictory evidence, Doctor Markham, addressing young PINCKNEY, said, "I know the strictness of your principles and your attachment to truth: speak, PINCKNEY! my decision shall be guided by your sentiment." From Westminster he was removed, in due course, to *Christ Church*, Oxford, where he had the acute Doctor Cyril Jackson as his private tutor. Judge Blackstone was then the Law lecturer; and as the best evidence of General PINCKNEY's attention and assiduity to that branch of his studies, he has left behind him four large volumes of manuscript, containing those celebrated lectures, which, with a diligence extraordinary in so young a man, he had written down at the time. With so much application and perseverance, knowledge could not be wooed in vain; and he consequently left Oxford with the reputation of being a fine scholar at the early age of eighteen. From that ancient university he entered as a law student at the Temple, where, having done something more than eat the usual number of dinners, he returned to South Carolina in 1769, having, during the last year, visited France and Germany, and devoting nine months to military studies at the Royal Academy of Caen in Normandy.

Sixteen years of absence had not impaired, or in the slightest degree weakened, his affection for his native soil. While in England he had keenly participated in the indignation felt at the passage of the Stamp Act; and a portrait taken of him at that time for his friend Sir Matthew Ridley, represents him in the act of arguing vehemently against that arbitrary measure. It has been declared by his contemporaries, that on his return from England he appeared before them at once as a remarkable young man. His elegant literary attainment—his sound legal knowledge—his high sense of all that was held honorable in the eyes of men, united to the most distinguished manners, impressed on those who knew him the certainty of his future success and elevation.

His commission to practise in the Provincial Courts is dated January 19th, 1770, and he very soon began to acquire business and reputation. It is worthy of notice, as showing the estimation in which he was held by his legal brethren, that he was appointed by Sir Egerton Lee, (his Majesty's Attorney General of the Province,) under a full and formal commission, to act as his substitute on Circuit in the District and Precinct courts of Camden, Georgetown, and Cheraws. This was in 1773, when General PINCKNEY was still a young man: and when we consider the high estimate of their profession by the English lawyers of that day, most of them being not only men of learning and accomplishments, but likewise of high birth and descent, this appointment may be taken as evidence of extraordinary merit. His professional pursuits, with all its emoluments and the expectation of its high reward, was, however, doomed to a sudden blight. The gathering storm of the Revolutionary war burst on the plains of Lexington. It struck on the ear of the patriots of South Carolina, and they at once resolved to prepare for that bloody and unnatural conflict with England, which was now seen to be inevitable.

Accordingly a meeting of the Provincial Congress was summoned by the Committee of Safety to be held in the city of Charleston. It assembled on the first day of June, 1775, and it was almost instantly decided to raise two regiments of infantry, of five hundred men each. The military ardor at this moment was so great, that the first families of the Province eagerly contended for appointments, and the number of candidates far exceeded the demand. In the midst of this band of gallant spirits, the abilities of General PINCKNEY were seen and acknowledged, and he was elected captain in the first regiment, appearing highest on the list. His Colonel was that firm republican, old Christopher Gadsden. He immediately proceeded on the re-

cruiting service, and fixed his quarters at Newbern in North Carolina. Whilst there, he proved his discernment and intrepidity of purpose, by advising the arrest of two suspicious persons, who came under the assumed garb of *settlers*. Their personal appearance and easy address convinced him that they were not what they would seem to be. He waited on the Committee of Public Safety, and having declared his reasons for believing that the strangers were hostile to the interests of the country, recommended their instant arrest. Unfortunately, the members of the Committee were timid, and refused to follow his advice. The event proved the soundness of his judgment. The strangers left Newbern for Cross Creek, and almost immediately excited the Scotch settlers, their countrymen, to arm in support of the Royal Government. General Moore was sent against them, and they were defeated. The younger of the strangers escaped; his name was McDonald. The other, who proved to be a veteran officer, of the name of McLeod, was killed. Having completed the recruiting service, he joined his regiment in Charleston, which was soon after placed on the *Continental* establishment by a resolution of Congress. In a short time General PINCKNEY obtained the command of the first regiment—its Colonel, Christopher Gadsden, being made a Brigadier, and its Lieutenant-Colonel and Major having been transferred to the command of other regiments.

The glorious defence of Fort Moultrie, and the signal defeat of the British fleet in its attack on that post, gave a calm, and long respite to the people of South Carolina from the horrors of war. The power of England then bore heavily on the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. Burning with ardor to distinguish himself in the field, General PINCKNEY hastened to join the Northern army. He was cordially received by General Washington, who appointed him an aid-de-camp; and in this capacity he was present at the battle of Brandywine, and the bloody affair at Germantown. The impression then made by him on the mind of the Commander-in-chief was of the most durable kind. It was exhibited throughout many years of friendship and of confidence, and on many interesting occasions, and only ceased with life itself. To one of his quick and energetic spirit, the opportunity which he now possessed of increasing his military knowledge, both as to science and discipline, it is reasonable to suppose was not allowed to escape unimproved.

On the first intimation of danger to the South, General PINCKNEY returned to take the command of his regiment. The State of Georgia about this period was greatly harassed by Tories, and repeated

inroads of vagabonds from Florida. It was indispensable to make an effort to save her from total ruin. Major-general Howe, of North Carolina, who commanded the Southern Division, required the aid of the South Carolina forces, and General PINCKNEY was ordered on to join Howe in Georgia. This service was short, but severe. The army had to move about, and drive the enemy at a season of the year when exposure to the climate was sure to produce sickness, if not death. The soldiers were wretchedly provided, not only as to camp equipage, but even as to food. In a letter written at Fort Howe on the Altamaha, addressed to General Moultrie at Charleston, General PINCKNEY describes the sufferings of the men as almost intolerable. Ten and twelve were crowded into one small tent, and many were left uncovered, to sleep under the heavy and deadly dews of the Georgia skies. The Continental troops, which, at the beginning, counted eleven hundred strong, were in the course of two months reduced to only three hundred and fifty men fit for duty. About midsummer General PINCKNEY got back to Charleston, after three months of the hardest service, rendered more acute by the reflection, that disease, and not the weapons of their enemies, had destroyed his soldiers. The sudden dash of Provost at Charleston, the subsequent invasion of Georgia, and the assault on the lines of Savannah, all contributed to bring out into bold relief General PINCKNEY'S fine qualities as a soldier. In the language of a brother officer, "his patient submission to the severities of service, his determined resolution and calm intrepidity, gave decided increase to his military reputation."

The campaigns of 1778 and '79, in the North, having reflected but little lustre on the British arms, Sir Henry Clinton consoled himself with the idea of making easy and brilliant conquests in the Southern and weaker States. Accordingly he prepared and fitted out a very powerful land and naval force for the capture of Charleston. The Royal army, in great strength, on the 11th of February, 1780, landed about thirty miles from the city. So feeble was the garrison at that moment, that, had the British army pushed on immediately to the city, it must have fallen almost without a blow; but Sir Henry Clinton preferred the slow method of a siege. The six Continental regiments in the Carolina establishment were at this time reduced to eight hundred men. The North Carolina and Virginia Continentals, about fifteen hundred strong, were ordered on by Congress: but of this number not more than seven hundred entered the city. Nevertheless, with this feeble garrison, and besieged both by land and water, it was

unanimously determined, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

General PINCKNEY at this critical period, with three hundred men, was stationed in command at Fort Moultrie. It was a post of honor, and his heart must have throbbed with exultation as he thought of Moultrie's victory in June, '76; and that now fortune had brought him his turn, either to show the flag of his country waving in triumph, or to make it his winding-sheet. But his eager anticipations were disappointed. The British admiral Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and flood tide, swept rapidly by Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it.

General PINCKNEY, however, opened a heavy and brisk fire on the ships as they passed under full sail, by which they received considerable damage, and twenty seamen were killed and wounded. Determined to share the fate of Charleston, he soon afterwards withdrew with a part of his garrison, and entered the city. A council of war was assembled for the purpose of deliberating on a capitulation, and it was then that General PINCKNEY displayed that boldness and decision of mind which belongs only to a man of great character. Rising with great composure and dignity of manner, he exclaimed, "I will not say, if the enemy attempt to carry our lines by storm, that we shall be able to resist them successfully: but am convinced we shall so cripple the army before us, that although we may not live to enjoy the benefits ourselves, yet to the United States they will prove incalculably great. Considerations of self are out of the question. They cannot influence any member of this council. My voice is for rejecting all terms of capitulation, and for continuing hostilities to the last extremity." This magnanimous proposition, although supported by Lieut. Colonel Laurens, was not adopted.

Charleston finally capitulated in May 1780, after a close investiture both by land and water of three months. General PINCKNEY was then removed to Haddrel's Point, about two miles from the city, with a large number of other prisoners. At this post they bore incredible privations. Without clothing, credit, or money, their sufferings became so extreme, that the Continental officers of the South Carolina and Georgia lines appointed General PINCKNEY to draw a memorial to Congress describing their condition. It is stated in this paper, that during their long captivity they had never received more than *nine* days' pay from their country.

The well-known influence of General PINCKNEY—his abilities—his zeal in the cause of liberty, and the boldness displayed in main-

taining his principles, made him in a peculiar degree the object of British severity. After enduring an obstinate intermittent fever for several months, he was at last allowed by the Commandant of Charleston, to come over to the city, on the declaration of the British physician, Doctor McNamara Hayes, that it was indispensable for the restoration of his health. Yet, *four* days after the permission had been granted, the same officer suddenly ordered him to return to Haddrel's Point, although his only son was at that instant lying dead in the house; and he was forced to compliance.

Nothing, however, could shake the firmness of his soul—oppression might drive the iron into it, but could not weaken its integrity. Threats and temptations were alternately used, but in vain. To Major Money of the British army, he wrote in the following bold and eloquent strain. "I entered into this cause after reflection, and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity, nor favor, nor poverty, nor affluence, can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer, he emphatically says, "The freedom and independence of my country are the gods of my idolatry."

It was during this period that the discussion between Major Barry, of the British army, and himself occurred on some points relating to the exchange of prisoners. Barry having quoted Grotius in support of his side of the question, General PINCKNEY promptly declared, that the opinions of that great jurist were in direct opposition to what had been stated. Reference was made to the author, when Major Barry was obliged to confess his error, lamenting "that he had not studied the passage with his usual accuracy."

At length he received the intelligence of his exchange, when it was too late to be of much value to him, in a letter from General McIntosh, dated at Philadelphia, 19th February, 1782. The war was then really at an end by the capture of Lord Cornwallis. Soon after he was raised to brevet rank as Brigadier; his commission is dated at Princeton, 1783, General Lincoln then acting as Secretary at War. On the return of peace, General PINCKNEY resumed the practice of law, his fortune having been much impaired. Time and casualties had swept away most of the old and learned members of the bar. He found in their place a new set of young men, clever, but of imperfect education—the war having broken the regular course of study. He, with a few more, might have ruled as monarchs of the bar; but his generous spirit disdained to profit by the weakness of others. He preferred to introduce a simple, liberal, and intelligible mode of prac-

tice, stripping off all useless subtleties and technical rules, and endeavoured to make the profession what it should be, enlightened and honorable in the eyes of the community. His business was large, and its profits commensurate,—reaching in one year the amount of four thousand guineas, a considerable sum for that day. A nice sense of honor made him discriminate in his cases, and it was not every one that offered, that he would take. He never forgot the injunction of his venerable father, to which his own generous heart involuntarily responded, to be the friend of the widow and the fatherless. From these he never would take compensation; and he carried into his profession the spirit of chivalry itself, which he exhibited on one remarkable occasion, and to which the writer of this sketch is not at liberty to do more than to allude. During this period he was more than once solicited by General Washington to enter into his cabinet. He was offered a place on the Supreme Bench; then the post of Secretary at War, as the successor of General Knox; afterwards that of Secretary of State, on the removal of Mr. Randolph. He steadily and consistently, for reasons satisfactory to his own mind, declined these honors, and stated finally in reply, "That whenever the President should call him to the performance of any public duty, to which private considerations ought to yield, and should say to him 'that he must accept,' all private obligations should cease."

This pledge he redeemed by accepting the mission to France, which General Washington, in a letter from Mount Vernon, July 8th, 1796, pressed on him in language that did honor to both. On this occasion his characteristic energy and decision was manifested. In a very few days after having notified his acceptance of the appointment, he embarked for Philadelphia and thence for Bordeaux. He arrived in Paris the 5th day of December; but on the way had to submit to the national *welcome* of the Poissardes, who, a post and a half from the city, stopped his carriage, and opening the door, insisted on the American ambassador's giving them the fraternal embrace.

On the next day he transmitted, by his Secretary of Legation, Major Henry Rutledge, to Mr. Monroe, his letters of recal; and a few days afterwards made his first and only visit to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur De La Croix, whose reception of him was cold and inauspicious.

The Directory had already determined not to receive him as minister of the United States, and accordingly Monsieur De La Croix addressed a note to Mr. Monroe, with whom the French government was still in correspondence, in these terms:—"The Directory has

charged me to notify you, that it will not acknowledge nor receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American government." This official insult, which must have been galling in the extreme, was borne with a serenity and dignity of mind that proved him fit to be an ambassador.

General PINCKNEY's sound judgment warned him, that on the very threshold of his embassy, prudence and duty both required that he should show the temper of forbearance. The interests of his country, her attachment, and proper feeling of gratitude towards an ancient ally, whose powerful arm had stretched across the Atlantic, and supported her in the dark hour of trial—all united to impress upon him the strongest disposition for peace. The moment had not yet arrived for him to vindicate his own high courage and the American people, in that noble sentiment which afterwards burst from his lips, and has become familiar as our household words.

"MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE, NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE."

The position of General PINCKNEY in the French capital was critical, and was well calculated to fill him with anxiety. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Colonel Pickering—"My situation, as you may easily conceive, is unpleasant; but if I can ultimately render any services to my country, I shall be fully compensated: at all events it shall be my study to avoid increasing the discontent of this government, without committing the honor, dignity, and respect, due to my own."

On the 5th of February, after being two months in Paris, he left it by an order from the Directory, having, by his patience and firmness, finally compelled them to address a note to himself, of which the following is an extract:—"Le Directoire executif Monsieur m'a chargé de vous faire savoir que n'ayant point obtenu de permission particulier, pour resider à Paris vous etes soumis à la loi qui oblige les etrangers à quitter le territoire de la Republique."

DE LA CROIX.

General PINCKNEY having obtained what he desired in this peremptory mandate, immediately left the territory of France, and retired to Holland to await the instructions of the American government. President Washington empowered Judge Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to join General PINCKNEY in Holland, and forthwith proceed with him to Paris; and there, as Envoys Extraordinary, endeavor to settle all existing difficulties. Success did not follow this new and sincere effort towards reconciliation. Our limits forbid enlarging on

this portion of General PINCKNEY's diplomatic career. It is sufficient to remark, that it was satisfactory to the government and the country. His colleague, General Marshall, and himself, returned to the United States, leaving Mr. Gerry in France, who, as it appears from the correspondence of the day, was persuaded to this step by citizen Talleyrand, for the purpose of conducting a separate negotiation between the two nations. President Adams, however, did not sanction this conduct on the part of Gerry, and he received a positive letter of recal from the Secretary of State, dated Jan. 25, 1798.

The spirit of the nation was now justly excited, and when General PINCKNEY arrived in America, he found the tone of public sentiment strong for hostilities. On the 12th of October, 1798, he landed at Paulus Hook, where he was received by a large concourse of citizens, who greeted him with enthusiastic cheers. The yellow fever was then raging in New-York, and he was compelled to proceed to the town of Newark with his family. He there received a letter from James McHenry, dated October 17th, 1798, enclosing his commission as a Major-general in the army of the United States, which was being put on the war establishment. It contained the following well-merited and just compliment to his patriotism: "The readiness you have expressed to accept of your appointment, after so long an absence from home and your private affairs, is extremely satisfactory; and will, I am sure, be fully estimated by the President and your country."

When President Adams appointed Washington to the command of the army, he also left to his judgment the selection of the other superior officers. The appointment, therefore, of General PINCKNEY is another strong proof of the continued friendship and confidence of Washington in his patriotism and abilities. The relative rank of the Major-generals stood thus: Washington—Alexander Hamilton—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY—Henry Knox. Hamilton, during the war of the Revolution, was the junior of General PINCKNEY. This circumstance being pointed out to him by a gentleman of his acquaintance, who laid much stress on the injustice and partiality of this preference, General PINCKNEY gave this memorable reply, worthy of a Themistocles or a Scipio:—"I am confident that General Washington had sufficient reasons for this preference. Let us first dispose of our enemies, we shall then have leisure to settle the question of rank."

Hostilities did not break out, and he once more retired to the calm and elegant enjoyments of a home, of which his social powers and polished manners formed one of the most graceful ornaments.

CHARLES C. PINCKNEY.

It is fact well understood, that if General PINCKNEY, in the year 1800, when the great struggle of parties happened, could have consented to unite his name with that of Mr. Jefferson, he would have been either President or Vice President of the United States. But, true to himself, true to his principles, consistent in all things, he would not, even to win the first office in the gift of the people, and gratify the inclination of his native State, agree to a measure that might seem to compromise his integrity. General PINCKNEY was a member of the enlightened assembly that formed the Constitution of the United States. Again his was one of the leading minds in the *State* Convention that framed the Constitution of 1790.

In the South Carolina State Convention of 1778 he exhibited not only very vigorous, but likewise liberal powers of mind. He forcibly and successfully sustained, in that convention, a proposition of the Rev. William Tennant to secure liberty and equality to all Protestant sects; and as he was a strict Episcopalian, it is but just to infer that he acted or argued from conviction, and not indifference. The uniform respect with which he treated the clergy of all denominations endeared him to them; and is evinced in the fact, that Christians of every sect united in choosing him the first President of the Bible Society of Charleston, and they continued him in that honorable station for fifteen years, to the period of his death.

General PINCKNEY was a considerable landholder in the city of Charleston. He had numerous tenants living on his property, and to all of them he was forbearing and compassionate; often submitting to the loss of his just dues rather than resort to the rigors of the law. Indeed, his benevolence was of the most enlarged character, and was experienced not only by the poor, and such as were dependent on him, but in his liberal support of churches, seminaries of learning, and every object of public utility. His hospitality was unbounded, and was of that princely sort, that it did honor to South Carolina. How many foreigners, how many Americans, are now living to whom such a reminiscence ought to be familiar? His conversation was singularly instructive and amusing, for he had both seen and thought much; and the ease and frankness of his manners invited the approach of all who chose to participate in its pleasures. His own library was extensive; but the valuable collection of his father, together with many manuscripts and interesting family documents, were burnt by the army of General Provost at a country-seat near Charleston, at the time of his forced march on the city—a loss which General PINCKNEY oftentimes lamented. His appetite for reading was great. No-

thing in the shape of a book escaped his attention. He read from

Engraved by J.B. Forrest from a Drawing by J.B. Longacre after an original Portrait by Jarvis

SAMUEL CHASE.

Samuel Chase

SAMUEL CHASE.

The Rev. Thomas Chase, the father of the subject of these pages, was the only son of Samuel Chase, of a highly respectable family in Great Britain. At the age of eighteen Thomas was sent to Eaton College, where, by his close application and untiring zeal, he became a proficient in the Latin and Hebrew languages, and soon after he received the honors of the College. The professorship of those languages was tendered to him, which he gladly accepted, as his father had lately suffered some loss in his pecuniary affairs.

In 1738 he fled from the persecution of Cromwell to the Island of Jamaica, where he practised physic, which science he had studied during his leisure hours at Eaton. He remained in Jamaica but a few months, whence he sailed to the American Colonies; and Somerset County, Maryland, was the place he chose for his residence.

In January, 1740, he was married to Matilda Walker, the daughter of a respectable farmer. The fruit of this union was one son; and the day that presented Mr. Chase an heir deprived him of his amiable helpmeet.

In 1743 Mr. T. Chase was honored with the appointment of rector of St. Paul's parish in Baltimore, whither he removed with his infant son, who had received the name of Samuel.

Deprived of the tender care of a mother, Samuel was the sole object of his father's love, and under the direction of this kind parent he received his education.

At the age of eighteen he went to Annapolis, where he studied law under the direction of John Hammond and John Hall; and in 1761 he was admitted to the Provincial Courts.

The year following he was married to Miss Anne Baldwin of Annapolis, a lady of distinguished merit, pious, amiable, affable and courteous. This union was blessed with six children, the objects of the love and pride of their parents. Samuel Chase, his second son,

became a judge in the District of Columbia, and was very highly esteemed.

Mr. CHASE soon became distinguished as a lawyer, and engaged with great zeal in opposing the odious and oppressive measures of Great Britain.

In 1794 he commenced his public life in the General Assembly of Maryland, and was an active member of that body for upwards of twenty years.

He was among the first opposers of the Stamp Act, and engaged, in the most decisive manner, to frustrate its malignant effects. He was one of the framers of the famous "Declaration of Rights of Maryland," and its firm supporter.

His leisure hours were also devoted to his country, in arousing the people to a sense of their wrongs by essays and pamphlets.

In 1774 he was chosen a delegate to the first Congress.

In 1776 he was again chosen to represent Maryland in the general Congress; and it may be said that Maryland, who had refused her consent, was induced by his entreaties to unite in declaring the United States free and independent.

His whole conduct in this Assembly was marked by activity and zeal, and a firm adherence to the principles of liberty breathed forth in the Declaration of Independence.

The name of CHASE is found on many of the most important committees, and he was always at his post.

In 1782 he was appointed by the Governor of Maryland, Agent and Trustee of the State of Maryland to recover the stock in the Bank of England owned by the State; and for this purpose he proceeded to England, where he remained one year, enjoying the intimacy of Fox, Pitt, Burke, and other great luminaries of the day. It would not be amiss here to state that the late William Pinckney was a student in his office at this time. Young Pinckney styled Mr. CHASE his "Patron and his Friend."

In March, 1783, Mr. CHASE was married to Miss Hannah Kilty Giles, of London, by whom he had two daughters; the eldest, Eliza, the widow of Dr. Skipwith Coale, afterwards resided in Baltimore; and Mary, his second daughter, was married to the eldest son of Commodore Barney, and proved herself an American matron, worthy to be the daughter of Judge CHASE and daughter-in-law of a hero.

In 1786 the liberality of the late Col. John Eager Howard induced him to remove to Baltimore.

In 1791 he was appointed Judge of the General Court of Maryland,

and in 1793 he received the appointment of Judge of the Criminal Court for Baltimore County; but it being thought unconstitutional to hold these two offices, he resigned his seat in the General Court.

In 1796 General Washington offered him a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was in the discharge of his duties in this Court that faction armed his opponents, and he was arraigned at the bar of his country to defend his slandered character. His defence on this occasion has been pronounced the most able production of the bar of this country; Aaron Burr, then Vice-President of the United States, presided at this trial; and the even-handed justice he dealt out was always a subject of praise by Mr. CHASE.

The late Chief Justice Marshall, in a letter dated May 6th, 1834, to one of Judge CHASE's descendants, writes of Judge CHASE:—

"He possessed a strong mind, great legal knowledge, and was a valuable judge, whose loss was seriously felt by his survivors.

"He was remarkable also for his vivacity and companionable qualities. He said many things which were much admired at the time, but I have not treasured them in my memory so as to be able to communicate them."

Judge Duvall, in a letter of the same date, writes:—

"I knew Judge CHASE intimately, from the year 1775 until the time of his decease. At the commencement of the revolution, Mr. CHASE, as an advocate at the bar, was at least on a level with the ablest lawyers in Maryland, and in my judgment he never had a superior.

"He was constantly engaged in public life, and in legislative assemblies he was more able and powerful than at the bar.

"The late Chancellor Hanson always said that Mr. CHASE was the ablest speaker he ever heard in a legislative assembly; and Mr. Hanson was capable of forming a correct opinion.

"His knowledge increased with his years. During the Revolutionary contest it may be said with truth, that in Maryland he was the foremost in supporting American rights. Always at his post in the legislature, he took the lead: and his talents enabled him to be formidable and influential. His zeal and patriotism led him into many political controversies, all of which he maintained with ability.

"Mr. CHASE's opinions as a Judge of the Supreme Court are held in high estimation. Whilst on the bench of the General Court of Maryland, his opinions were applauded. He was an able civilian and jurist.

"The truth of these general remarks, as to Mr. CHASE's character

is known to every man who lived in his time and during the revolution."

In his private life he was a kind husband, a fond parent, and a lenient master. For many months he had suffered under a severe disease, ossification of the heart, and had purposed a journey to the North for the benefit of his health; but on the day previous he was taken suddenly ill, he called for writing materials, but it was too late; and he died without making a will, on the 19th of June, 1811, at the mature age of seventy years, a great and good man.

Painted by T. Wedderburn

Engd. by E. Scott

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON was descended from a family of historical celebrity in the annals of Scotland. Kings, regents, and nobles appear in the line of his ancestors, and probably no individual ever emigrated to the new world who could boast more numerous or more distinguished evidences of rank and title. James Livingston, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was appointed regent of Scotland during the minority of James I; his grand-daughter married Donald, king of the Hebrides, one of whose descendants is celebrated by the immortal pen of Sir Walter Scott, in his poem, the Lord of the Isles.

The titles of Earl of Newburgh, Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Callander, and Earl Livingstone, given to several distinct members of this family, attest its standing and importance in the state, and add lustre to the honors of its name. Nor were they undistinguished in the early literature of their native country; and the name of Rollock, of kindred origin, occurs at the close of the sixteenth century as first principal of the celebrated University of Edinburgh.

Lord Livingstone was the common ancestor of that branch of the Livingstons, which emigrated to this country in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was hereditary governor of Linlithgow castle, in which Mary Queen of Scots was born, and in which she was placed for safety during the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Somerset. His daughter was one of the four ladies who attended this princess to France as her companion. His great grandson, John Livingston, an eminent, learned, and pious minister of the Gospel, emigrated to Rotterdam in 1663, the victim of religious persecution, and was one of the commissioners of Scotland in the negotiations which eventuated in a general peace, and in the transfer of the colony of New York from the states of Holland to England.

Robert Livingston, his son, about the period of his father's death, in 1678, emigrated to America; and in 1686, obtained a patent for the

manor of Livingston. The banks of the noble Hudson, on which it is situate, attest in its ornaments their taste and opulence. He was a member of the convention at Albany in 1689, which threw off, on the part of New York, the oppressive government of James II. In a visit to England, he held a conference with King William, Lord Chancellor Somers, and others, and prompted the enterprise against the pirates who then infested various parts of the American coast. The agent employed to effect this purpose proved treacherous to the trust, and, as is supposed, with the connivance of Robert Fletcher, the governor of the state. This agent afterwards became chief among the pirates, and is known in the popular traditions of the country by the name of Captain Kidd. The grandsons of Robert were, Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, on the part of the state of New York; William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, known as a poet of high order, and still more estimable for his vigorous defence of the civil and religious rights of the colonies in council and by the pen. Robert Livingston's great-grandsons were, John H. Livingston, the father of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey; Brockholst Livingston, late one of the justices of the Supreme court of the United States; Edward Livingston, formerly secretary of the department of state; and ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, the subject of our present memoir. The talents of this highly gifted family have had an ample field for their display and exertion. The colonial history of the state of New York records their elevated standing in its political affairs, and their noble resistance to those measures of oppression which arrived at their height during the early reign of George III, and which resulted in the independent sovereignty of America.

Chancellor LIVINGSTON was born in the city of New York, in 1747, and was educated in King's, now Columbia college, where he was graduated in 1764. He entered upon the study of the law in 1765, under the direction of William Smith, the historian of New York, at that time an eminent counsellor of law, and subsequently chief justice of Canada. Shortly after having obtained his license in that profession, he was appointed recorder of his native city. The trying question of the rights of the British parliament, in which we were unrepresented, to impose exactions on our citizens, then first began to be agitated; and the subject of our memoir, as well as his illustrious father, were both ejected from their official stations, the latter as one of the justices of the court of Oyer and Terminer, for adherence to the rights of their countrymen.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

In return for royal persecution, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was rewarded by popular favor and the confidence of his country. In the immortal congress of 1776, Mr. LIVINGSTON represented the feelings and interests of the people of the state of New York. In this consecrated assembly, his zeal and patriotism were universally acknowledged.

When, at the recommendation of congress, each state proceeded to frame a constitution of government, Mr. LIVINGSTON was elected a member of the convention of New York, and was the chairman of the committee who presented the draught of that instrument, which was subsequently adopted.

On the formation of the department of foreign affairs, in 1781, under the articles of confederation, he accepted the appointment of secretary, and served in that capacity with great diligence, promptness, and impartiality, until 1783, when, on retiring from office, he received the thanks of congress, and an assurance of the high sense they entertained of the ability, zeal, and fidelity with which he had discharged the important trusts reposed in him. The diplomatic correspondence of the revolutionary war, which has been published by Mr. Sparks, may be here referred to as documentary testimony to his cabinet services in our great contest.

Mr. LIVINGSTON was appointed chancellor of the state of New York in 1783, being the first who held that office under the state constitution; and he continued in this highest legal station in the state until his mission to France, in 1801. No published documents record the evidences of his laborious research and accurate discrimination. But we assert, on the testimony of a most distinguished successor to his office (Chancellor Jones), that the august tribunal, whose justice he dispensed, though since covered with a halo of glory, never boasted a more prompt, more able, or more faithful officer.

When at length the valor of our ancestors had borne them successfully through the revolutionary contest, and redeemed those pledges which had been offered on the altar of their country, another and a still more arduous task remained. In vain had our patriots moistened the soil with their blood, had our countrymen been left the victims to their own tormenting feuds and passions. The bond of union which united us during the period that tried men's souls, was almost rent asunder during the trials of peace. The legislature of Virginia, so early as in 1785, at the instance of Mr. Madison, who then first gave presages of his future greatness, had appointed commissioners, with a view to form commercial regulations for the general control of the states. Commissioners from several states met accordingly at Annapolis, the fol-

lowing year. From the want of adequate powers, they separated without effecting the object for which they were delegated. In 1787, on the recommendation of the Massachusetts delegation, composed of Francis Dana and Rufus King, was convened, at Philadelphia, that memorable assemblage of heroes and statesmen, who met to devise a plan of government which should convey the blessings of liberty to the latest generations. Of the plan of that national compact which now binds these states, Hamilton and Madison were the principal authors.

Of the convention which assembled at Poughkeepsie in 1788, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was one of the most efficient members, and prevailed in effecting its ratification by his native state; thus securing its adoption by the United States. We are now in the full enjoyment of its blessings. May no vaulting ambition on the part of our statesmen, or madness on the part of our people, ever put it in jeopardy for a moment. May it never be rendered oppressive by too liberal a construction of its powers: may it never be nullified by metaphysical refinement.

In April, 1789, the city of New York was the scene of one of the most solemn ceremonies recorded in the annals of America. The great Washington having conducted, to a successful issue, the momentous contest for independence, and the sages of our nation having elaborated a constitutional code of government, all eyes were directed to the illustrious hero, whose wise and sagacious counsels, no less than his valor, pointed him out as the most competent, under Providence, to guide the vessel of state in safety. When that venerated patriot was about to enter upon the duties of the highest office known to freemen, Chancellor LIVINGSTON became the witness of his solemn appeal to heaven, that the laws should be faithfully administered.

The appointment of Chancellor LIVINGSTON to the court of France, was one of the first acts of the new administration of Jefferson. Napoleon Bonaparte, the youthful conqueror of Italy, was at this time first consul of the French republic. At his court, which excelled in magnificence and splendor the most august courts of Europe, the chancellor at once conciliated the good feelings of that extraordinary man by the amenity of his manners, and promoted the best interests of his country by persevering and enlightened exertions. During the short-lived peace of Amiens, Paris was visited by the refined and intelligent from every part of the civilized world; and here the chancellor found leisure, amidst the duties of official station, to cultivate those ornate studies, for which that capital furnishes every facility. On the

day of a great levée, which assembled at the Tuilleries, says the biographer of Fox, the numerous representatives of nations and strangers from every country, to pay their respects to the first consul of France, now established as the sole head of the government, the American ambassador, Mr. LIVINGSTON, plain and simple in manners and dress, represented his republic with propriety and dignity.

In that important negotiation with the government of France, which resulted in the acquisition of Louisiana, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was the prominent and efficient agent. Its transfer by the Spanish government to France, in 1802, had excited the most lively feelings of the American republic. By this unexpected measure, they were made the neighbors to a power, which, under the giant energies of the first consul, threatened, in case of rupture, the very existence of our republic. Immediately preceding the entrance into it of the French authorities, the Spanish powers prohibited the inhabitants of the western country the use of New Orleans as a place of deposite for their productions, contrary to the treaty with his Catholic Majesty. A universal spirit of indignation animated the American people; and there were not wanting those who recommended an immediate recourse to arms. The discussions on this question in the congress of the United States elicited debates, in which De Witt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris, representatives of the state of New York in the American senate, sustained the different views of the rival parties of this country. In pursuance of the sound counsels of those who urged the propriety of negotiation and peace, the executive of the United States deputed, as minister to the court of France, the late President Monroe; but previous to his arrival, Mr. LIVINGSTON, in an elaborate and interesting memoir, addressed to the French government, had prepared them for the cession of the greater part of Louisiana.

The result of Chancellor LIVINGSTON'S efforts was prompt and successful. On the 5th April, the first consul announced to his bureau of state his determination to sell whatever of American territory he had obtained from Spain. Seven days afterwards, Mr. Monroe arrived in Paris, and gave the consent of the American government to this negotiation. The menacing posture of affairs between France and England facilitated the objects of these arrangements, and resulted in the transfer of the entire country to the American republic, for a sum less than was adequate for the preparation of a single campaign.

By this important treaty, contrary to the anticipations of the timid or interested, the confederacy of our states was placed on an invulnerable basis; territory was added to our country, nearly equal in extent

to that of the original states of our union; and the blessings of free government secured to millions, who had otherwise groaned under the vassalage of foreign dominion. The vast deserts of Louisiana are daily becoming the cheerful residence of an intelligent and christian population, with American blood flowing in their veins, and beating responsive to republican feelings; and the field of New Orleans is now added to those of Bunker Hill, Stillwater, and Chippeway, as trophies of American valor and patriotism.

After the signing of this eventful treaty, the three ministers arose, says one of them (the Count Marbois), when Mr. LIVINGSTON, expressing the general satisfaction, said, with prophetic sagacity, "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art, or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. Thus one of the principal causes of European rivalries and animosities is about to cease. The United States will reëstablish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. These treaties will thus be a guarantee of peace and concord among commercial states. The instruments which we have just signed, will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another, and multiply, truly worthy of the regard of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad government."

The consequences of this act did not escape the penetration of the first consul. "This accession of territory," said he, "strengthens for ever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."

The official duties of resident minister at Paris did not prevent Chancellor LIVINGSTON from bestowing his attention to those objects of taste congenial to his feelings, and beneficial to his country. To the American Academy of Fine Arts, established in New York, in 1801, he added the excellent collection of busts and statues which are now the boast of that institution, and was instrumental in procuring, from the liberality of the first consul, its rich paintings and prints. He continued through life devoted to its interests, and was for many years its chief officer. To the Transactions of the Society for the

Promotion of Useful Arts, established in 1793, chiefly through his exertions, he contributed many appropriate papers, and, during his residence abroad, enriched our agriculture with the improvements of French husbandry.

The last effort of his pen was his paper on Agriculture, written but a few days before his fatal illness. In this spirited essay, he vindicates the climate, soil, and capabilities of his native country. He shows the value of horticultural labor, and demonstrates the reciprocal connections between agriculture and manufactures. The inherent fertility and the indigenous resource of the country, are the themes of his admiration and eulogy. He was among the earliest, with Judge Peters, to employ gypsum as the means of fertilizing soils; and the introduction of clover, and a better breed of domestic cattle, attest his vigilant and enlightened zeal.

One other benefit conferred on mankind, will, of itself, convey the name of Chancellor LIVINGSTON to the remotest posterity; his coöperation with Robert Fulton, in effecting the successful application of steam navigation, the most important improvement since the invention of printing.

"The connection between Livingston and Fulton," says the late lamented Clinton, "realized, to a great degree, the vision of the poet. All former experiments had failed, and the genius of Fulton, aided and fostered by the public spirit and discernment of LIVINGSTON, created one of the greatest accommodations for the benefit of mankind. These illustrious men will be considered, through all time, as the benefactors of the world."*

The leisure hours of Chancellor LIVINGSTON were devoted to every variety of science, arts, and literature. The heroic authors of antiquity, Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, were among those which contributed to improve his taste and expand his thought and feeling. His historical researches were various and extensive. All this was not effected without unremitting industry. Every interval of time afforded from the duties and cares of public life, was devoted, with scrupulous fidelity, to add to his stores of knowledge. Like the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, in variety of pursuit he found that relaxation which others seek in pleasure and amusement.

The style of his oratory was chaste and classical, and of that persuasive kind which the father of poetry ascribes to Nestor. All who were witnesses. testify to the mute attention with which he riveted his

* Clinton's Discourse before the American Academy of Fine Arts.

auditors. But he chiefly delighted in the pathetic, and often, by his appeals to the sympathies of his hearers, counteracted the most powerful prejudices. His acknowledged integrity and patriotism doubtless added force to all he uttered. Franklin termed him the American Cicero: in him were united all those qualities which, according to bat illustrious Roman. are necessary in the perfect orator.

After a life, every portion of which was devoted to the benefit of his fellow-man, he paid the last debt to nature, at his seat, at Clermont, on the 26th of February, 1813.

Thus it appears, from this imperfect tribute, that the late Chancellor LIVINGSTON was an active agent in the most momentous events that have influenced the destinies of mankind. Of the congress of 1776, which resolved that these states were free and independent, he was a distinguished member, and belonged to that committee which framed the declaration of our grievances and rights, — and which will transmit their names to the latest posterity; of the convention of New York which formed the constitution of that state — the best devised scheme of polity then known to the world; of a subsequent convention, which ratified the constitution of the United States, devised by the wisdom of Hamilton and Madison; the important actor in a negotiation, which doubled our country in extent, and rendered it for ever secure from foreign intrusion; the coadjutor in that noblest of all improvements in mechanics, by which time and space are annihilated — the invention of steam navigation.

In Mr. LIVINGSTON, to the proud character of integrity, honor, and disinterestedness, were added the mild, yet ennobling features of religion. An inquiring believer in its truth, an exemplar of its gentle effects on the character, he daily sought its consolations, and strengthened his pious resolutions in the rich inheritance it promises. He was devoted to the Protestant Episcopal Church, from an enlightened preference of its doctrines and discipline, without hostile feelings to those who trust to other guides in religion than Chillingworth and Hooker.

Chancellor LIVINGSTON, at the time of his death, was in the 68th year of his age. His person was tall and commanding, and of patrician dignity. Gentle and courteous in his manners, pure and upright in his morals. His benefactions to the poor were numerous and unostentatious. In his life, without reproach; victorious in death over its terrors.

Engraved by J.W. Paradise from a Painting by A.B. Durand.

J. Q. Adams

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

In giving a sketch of the career of John Quincy Adams, the limits of our work require us almost entirely to confine the narrative to a bare recital of the successive leading events of his life. It is difficult to contemplate his history, without yielding to the impulses of the feelings and the imagination, and expatiating on the interesting reflections and meditations which, at every stage of his course, crowd into the mind, and demand expression. So protracted, however, was his public life, so full was it of important services, and so various were the stations in which his great talents were displayed, that the c ncisest narration of them will be kept, with difficulty, from too fully occupying our pages. His illustrious parents have been already duly commemorated in our work; and it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon their merits. He was born in Braintree, in Massachusetts, in that part of the town since incorporated by the name of Quincy, on Saturday, July 11, 1767, and was baptised the next day, in the congregational church of the first Parish of Braintree. He was named John Quincy, in consequence of the interesting circumstance that his maternal great-grandfather of that name, who was the owner of Mount Wollaston, and a leading civil and military character of his times, in honor of whom the town of Quincy received its name, was actually dying at the time of his birth.

In the eleventh year of his age he accompanied his father to France, who was sent by Congress, as joint commissioner, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, to the court of Versailles. They sailed from Boston in February, 1778, and arrived at Bourdeaux early in April. While in France, he was, of course, put to school, and instructed in the language of that country as well as in the Latin. After about eighteen months, they returned to America in the French frigate La Sensible, in company with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who came out as the minister of France to the United States. They arrived in Boston on the first of August, 1779. In November of the same year his father was again

despatched to Europe, for the discharge of diplomatic services, which he rendered to the cause of America with such signal and memorable ability and success. He again took his son out with him. It seemed to be the determination of that great patriot, not only to do and to dare every thing himself for his struggling country, but to keep his son continually at his side; so that, by sharing his perils and witnessing his toils, he might become imbued with his own exalted enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, and be prepared to promote and vindicate it with all the energies of his genius and all the sensibility of his soul. It is easy to imagine the exciting influences which must have operated upon the character of a youth at that susceptible and impressible age, accompanying such a father through the scenes in which he acted while in Europe, and the dangers he encountered in his voyages across the Atlantic. In one of these voyages, the ship in which they were embarked was under the command of the famous naval hero Commodore Tucker, and the whole passage was a succession of hazardous exposures and hair-breadth escapes from hostile squadrons and tempestuous gales.

While the younger Adams was receiving the impressions made upon him by a participation in the patriotic adventures and exertions of his father, and imbibing the wisdom and intrepid energy of spirit for which he was so distinguished, the same effect was still more heightened and deepened by the influence exerted upon him by the inculcations and exhortations to every public and private virtue contained in the letters of his mother. When he was thirteen years of age, while in France with his father, she addressed him in the following noble strains:—"It is your lot, my son, to owe your existence among a people who have made a glorious defence of their invaded liberties, and who, aided by a generous and powerful ally, with the blessing of heaven, will transmit this inheritance to ages yet unborn; nor ought it to be one of the least of your excitements towards exerting every power and faculty of your mind, that you have a parent who has taken so large a share in this contest, and discharged the trust reposed in him with so much satisfaction as to be honored with the important embassy that at present calls him abroad. The strict and inviolate regard you have ever paid to truth, gives me pleasing hopes that you will not swerve from her dictates; but add justice, fortitude, and every manly virtue which can adorn a good citizen, do honor to your country, and render your parents supremely happy particularly your ever affectionate mother."

The opportunities and privileges of an education, under such an

spices, were not thrown away upon him, as the incidents of his subsequent career most amply prove.

In going to Europe this second time, he embarked with his father at Boston, in the same French frigate, La Sensible, bound to Brest; but as the ship sprung a leak in a gale of wind, it was necessary to make the first port they could, which was Ferrol in Spain. They traveled from that place to Paris by land, and arrived there in January, 1780.

The son, of course, was immediately placed at school. In July of that year, Mr. Adams removed to Holland. There his son was introduced to the public city school at Amsterdam, and afterwards to the University at Leyden. In July, 1781, Mr. Francis Dane, who had accompanied John Adams as Secretary of the embassy with which he was charged, received the commission of minister plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia, and took JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, then fourteen years of age, with him as his private Secretary. Here the younger Adams remained until October 1782, when he left Mr. Dane at St. Petersburg, and returned through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen, to Holland. Upon this journey he employed the whole winter, spending considerable time by the way, in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Hamburg. He reached the Hague in April, 1783, and continued several months in Holland, until his father took him to Paris, where he was at the signing of the treaty of peace, which took place in September of that year, and from that time to May, 1785, he was, for the most part, with his father in England, Holland, and France.

At his own solicitations, his father permitted him, when eighteen years of age, to return to his native country. Soon after reaching America, he entered Harvard University, at an advanced standing, and was graduated with distingiushed honor, as Bachelor of Arts, in 1787. He then entered the office of the celebrated Theophilus Parsons, at New bury Port, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts; and after the usual period of three years spent in the study of the law, he entered the profession, and established himself in Boston.

He remained in that situation four years, occupying himself industriously in his office, extending his acquaintance with the great principles of law, and also taking part in the public questions which then occupied the attention of his countrymen. In the summer of 1791 he published a series of papers in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of Publicola, containing remarks upon the first part of Paine's Rights of Man. They suggested doubts in reference to the favorable issue of the French Revolution, at a time when most other men saw nothing but good in that awakening event. The issue proved the sa

gacity of Publicola. These pieces were at first ascribed to his father. They were reprinted in England.

In April, 1793, on the first information of war between Great Britain and France, and before Washington had published his proclamation of neutrality, or it was known that such a step was contemplated by him, Mr. ADAMS published in the Boston Centinel three articles signed Marcellus, the object of which was to prove that the duty and interest of the United States required them to remain neutral in that war. In these papers he developed the two principles, which have ever been the basis of his creed as a statesman; the one is UNION at home, the other INDEPENDENCE of all entangling alliances with any foreign states whatever.

In the winter of 1793–4 he published another series of political essays, confirming, and more fully developing these views, and vindicating the course of President Washington in reference to the proceedings of the French minister, Genet.

In May, 1794, he was appointed by Washington, without any intimation of such a design, made either to him or to his father, minister resident to the United Netherlands. It was supposed at the time that he was selected in consequence of his having been commended to the favorable notice of Washington, as a suitable person for such an employment, by Mr. Jefferson.

From 1794 to 1801 he was in Europe, employed in diplomatic business, and as a public minister, in Holland, England, and Prussia. Just as President Washington was retiring from office, he appointed him minister plenipotentiary to the court of Portugal. While on his way to Lisbon, he received a new commission, changing his destination to Berlin. He resided in Berlin from November 1797 to April 1801, and while there concluded a highly important treaty of commerce with Prussia, thus accomplishing the object of his mission. He was then recalled, just before the close of his father's administration, and arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1801.

In 1802 he was elected, from the Boston district, a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and was soon after appointed, by the legislature of that state, a senator in the Congress of the United States for six years, from the 4th of March, 1803. As his views of public duty led him to adopt a course which he had reason to believe was disagreeable to the legislature of the State he represented, he resigned his seat in March, 1808. In March, 1809, President Madison nominated him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia.

Some time previous to this, however, in 1806, he had been appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard University, at Cambridge in Massachusetts. So extraordinary were his powers of elocution, so fervid his imaginative faculties, and so rich his resources of literature and language, that his lectures, which were afterwards published in two octavo volumes, were thronged not only by the students of the university, but by large numbers of the admirers of eloquence and genius, who came from Boston and the neighboring towns to listen to them. During his whole life Mr. ADAMS cultivated the graces of elocution, and, in addition to his profound and varied knowledge of the sciences, of the ancient and modern languages, and of the literature and history of all nations, he was an eminent Orator as well as Poet.

While in Prussia, he furnished to the Port Folio, printed in Philadelphia, and to which, from the beginning to the end, he was an industrious anonymous contributor, a series of letters, entitled a "Journal of a Tour through Silesia." These letters were republished in London, without the permission of the proprietor of the Port Folio, in one volume octavo. They were reviewed in the journals of the day, and translated into French and German.

Mr. ADAMS signalized himself while in Russia, by an energetic, faithful, and wise discharge of the trust committed to him. He succeeded in making such an impression upon that government, by his reasonings and influence, that it has ever since been actuated by a feeling of kindness towards the United States, which has been of incalculable benefit to this country. It was through his instrumentality that the Russian Court was induced to take active measures to promote a pacification between England and the United States during the last war. When the proper time came, he was named at the head of the five commissioners who were appointed by President Madison to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. This celebrated diplomatic transaction took place at Ghent, in December, 1814. Mr. Adams then proceeded, in conjunction with Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin, who had also been associated with him in concluding the treaty of peace, to negotiate a convention of commerce with Great Britain; and he was forthwith appointed by President Madison minister plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James.

It is a most remarkable coincidence that, as his father took the leading part in negotiating the treaty that terminated the Revolutionary war with Great Britain, and first discharged the office of American ambassador to London, so he was at the head of the commission that negotiated the treaty that brought the second war with Great Britain

to a close, and sustained the first mission to that country upon the return of peace. After having occupied that post until the close of President Madison's administration, he was at length called home, in 1817, to the head of the department of State, at the formation of the cabinet of President Monroe.

Mr. ADAMS's career as a foreign minister terminated at this point. It has never been paralleled, or at all approached, either in the length of time it covered, the number of courts at which he represented his country, or the variety and importance of the services he rendered. His first appointment to the office of a minister plenipotentiary was received at the hands of George Washington, who, in nominating him, acted in accordance with the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson. James Madison employed him in the weightiest and most responsible trusts during his whole administration, selected him to represent the United States at the two most powerful courts in the world, St. Petersburg and London, and committed to his leading agency the momentous duty of arranging a treaty of peace with Great Britain. It is enough to say, that throughout this long and brilliant career of foreign public service, he deserved, and received from his country, the encomium which Washington pronounced upon him, when, in 1797, he declared him "the most valuable public character we have abroad, and the ablest of all our diplomatic corps."

The public approbation of Mr. Monroe's act in placing him at the head of his cabinet, was well expressed by General Jackson, at the time, when he said that he was "the fittest person for the office; a man who would stand by the country in the hour of danger." While Secretary of State, an office which he held during the eight years of President Monroe's administration, he discharged his duties in such a manner as to increase the confidence of his countrymen in his ability and patriotism. Under his influence, the claims on Spain were adjusted, Florida ceded to the Union, and the republics of South America recognised. It will be the more appropriate duty of his future biographer to present a full view of the vast amount of labor which he expended, in the public service, while managing the department of state.

In the Presidential election, which took place in the fall of 1824, Mr. ADAMS was one of the candidates. No candidate received a majority of electoral votes. When, on the 9th of February, 1825, the two houses of Congress met in convention, in the hall of the House of Representatives, to open, and count, and declare the electoral votes, it was found that *Andrew Jackson* had 99 votes, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 84 votes, *William H. Crawford*, 41 votes, and *Henry Clay*

37 votes. According to the requirements of the constitution, the Senate then withdrew, and the House remained to ballot for a President until a choice should be effected. They were to vote by States; the election was limited to the three candidates who had the highest electoral votes, and the balloting was to continue without adjournment until some one of the three had received the votes of a majority of the States. As Mr. ADAMS had received as many popular votes as General Jackson, the circumstance that the latter had obtained a large electoral vote had not so much weight as it otherwise might have had; and when the balloting was about to begin, it was wholly uncertain which would be the successful candidate. The whole number of States was twenty-four. The votes of thirteen States were necessary for a choice. At the first ballot, it was found that *Maine*, *New Hampshire*, *Massachusetts*, *Rhode Island*, *Connecticut*, *Vermont*, *New-York*, *Maryland*, *Ohio*, *Kentucky*, *Illinois*, *Missouri*, and *Louisiana*, thirteen states, had voted for "JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, OF MASSACHUSETTS;" and he was accordingly elected PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES for four years from the 4th of March, 1825. A committee was appointed forthwith to inform him of his election, who, the next day, reported the following letter in reply to the communication:

"GENTLEMEN,

"In receiving this testimonial from the Representatives of the people and states of this Union, I am deeply sensible to the circumstances under which it has been given. All my predecessors in the high station, to which the favor of the House now calls me, have been honored with majorities of the electoral voices in their primary colleges. It has been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor: and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the House in concurrence with my own; names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger minority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine. In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust, thus delegated to me, give an immediate opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to

submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal; I shall therefore repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country, signified through her constitutional organs; oppressed with the magnitude of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow-citizens, which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the Legislative Councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty, and relying, above all, upon the superintending Providence of that Being 'in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.'

"Gentlemen: I pray you to make acceptable to the House, the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accep yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated their decision.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

"*Washington*, 10*th Feb.* 1825."

The time is approaching when justice will be done to the administration of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. The passions of that day are already fast subsiding, and the parties and combinations that arose under the exciting influences of the times, have long since been dissolved and scattered. The clear verdict of posterity may almost be heard, even now, in the general acknowledgment of its merits by the people of the country, in all its various sections. In the relations he sustained to the members of his cabinet, in his communications to the two houses, and in all his proceedings, there is a uniform manifestation of wisdom, industry, moderation, and devoted patriotism. Of course we do not speak of party questions, or refer to the operations or bearings of the parties of that period; but say only what we conscientiously believe will be assented to heartily by candid and honorable men of all parties. The great effort of his administration was to mature, into a permanent system, the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement. This policy was first suggested in a resolution introduced by him, and adopted by the Senate of the United States in 1806; and was fully unfolded in his first message to Congress in 1825. It will be the duty of the philosophical historian of the country, a half century hence, to contrast the probable effects upon the general prosperity, which would have been produced by such a system of administration, regularly and comprehensively

carried out, during the intermediate time, by the government of the Union, with what will then be seen to be the results of the policy which has prevailed over it.

In retiring from the Presidency in 1829, Mr. ADAMS returned to his family mansion in Quincy, where he remained, in quiet retirement, until he was called into public life, once more, by the people of the congressional district to which he belonged. He took his seat in the House of Representatives of the United States in 1831, where he continued till his death in the most indefatigable discharge of the duties of his station. However much some of his opinions might be disliked by large numbers of his countrymen; however strenuous the collision into which he was, from time to time, brought with those whose policy or views he might oppose; there was but one sentiment of admiration, throughout the entire Union, of the vigor, the activity, the intrepidity, the patience and perseverance of labor, the talent, the learning, and the eloquence which he continually exhibited. He knew neither fear nor fatigue; prompt, full, and fervid in debate, he was ever at his post; no subject arose upon which he did not throw light, and few discussions occurred which were not enlivened by the flashings of his genius and invigorated by the energy of his spirit. While he belonged to no party, all parties in turn felt the power of his talents; and all it is probable, recognized him as an extremely useful as well as interesting member of the great legislative assembly of the nation.

When he resumed his senatorial duties, he had reached the period of life when most men begin, if not to lose their power to engage in the arduous struggles of life, at least to lose their interest in them. But it was not so with him. Neither his natural force nor his natural fervor abated. His speeches and writings continued as full of fancy and of feeling as they were in his early manhood. As a scholar, his attainments were various, we might almost say universal, and profound. As a political controversial writer, he never found his equal; and his services as a public orator were called for on great occasions even to the last, when he came forward in all the strength of his intellectual energy, and with the imperishable richness and inexhaustible abundance of his rhetorical stores. When Congress were apprized of the death of General Lafayette, the unanimous voice of both Houses summoned him to the high and memorable duty of pronouncing their grateful eulogium upon that friend of America and champion of mankind. And at the call of the municipal authorities of the city of Boston, he pronounced funeral orations in commemoration of the departed worth of Presidents Monroe and Madison.

At the time of Mr. ADAMS' first acceptance of a seat in the Senate, there were those among his best friends who doubted the policy of the step, and who feared the consequences to himself of a voluntary exposure at his age, to collision with the turbulent men more or less generally found there. They all lived to confess their mistake, as well as to acknowledge that without the latter portion of his career, Mr. ADAMS' fame would have lost an essential element. With no personal party, with no inducements of self-interest to hold out to others to follow him, and with strong prejudices, growing out of past contests, to overcome, he nevertheless made good his attitude of independence, and at times wielded a controlling influence over the House. One of his eulogists has marked out as the greatest event in his life, that decisive stroke of his which evoked order out of chaos at the opening of the twenty-sixth Congress. But others will be more inclined to believe that his steady and determined maintenance of a fundamental principle of republican government in the freedom of petition, in opposition to all the power of the House and the interests of both the great parties, until he actually succeeded in procuring the formal rescinding of the obnoxious rule of the House which had denied it, furnishes the most useful as well as the most noble example of moral heroism in politics which has yet been given in America. Neither did he in the end suffer in the popular estimation by his action. The tides of feeling in a republic flow swiftly, no matter how often they change their direction. He, who in 1837 narrowly escaped a vote of censure, if not a formal expulsion from an excited majority, whom at first the press and the people alike appeared to deplore, if not to condemn, but six years afterwards, when undertaking a private excursion for the gratification of once seeing the falls of Niagara before his death, became, most unexpectedly to himself, the hero of a species of ovation. Crowds every where turned out to meet him on his way, and to testify their admiration of the qualities he had shown in the great struggle. Nothing of the kind had happened since the reception of La Fayette. The people lauded in him a virtue valued in America for its rarity in public life quite as much as for its intrinsic worth. Like a plant which has survived and grown up from among thousands trodden under foot, firmness is estimated by the success it has met with in resisting. It can never be an attribute of the popular favorite of an hour, who lives only in sunshine, and whose self-reliance is never strong enough to fortify both his will and his power to outride a storm. Yet the intimate friends of Mr. ADAMS had good reason to suspect that he valued the applause of men quite as highly as he ought, and as the commonest

demagogues do. The difference was in his mode of reaching it, which was never like theirs, graduated by a fear of the popular censure. He delighted in bold methods of *forcing* their approbation, by appealing to high principles, the power of which they could not fail to bow to in the long run, however disposed they might be for the moment to resist their application. He was fond of the position of a champion of a good cause against great odds, as well because it afforded a broad field for the exercise of his extraordinary dialectics, as because he felt sure that ultimately the victory would rest with the right.

Time wore on; and the bonds which unite the soul with the body were gradually but perceptibly losing their elasticity, though the spirit continued unconquered and vigorous as ever. It was not until the month of November, 1846, that a distinct notion of his mortality was presented to the mind of Mr. ADAMS. As he was leaving the house of his son in Boston, to make a visit in company with a friend, the late Dr. Parkman, to the spot which was not very long afterwards destined to witness that friend's singular and lamented murder, a shock of paralysis suddenly deprived him of all power of motion. But when he recovered his senses, so little conscious was he of the evil which afflicted him, that he was searching for causes entirely of a temporary nature to account for it. Slowly did the painful truth force itself upon his mind. But when at last it came, he immediately prepared himself to meet it, first, by perfecting his final disposition of all worldly matters, secondly, by resolutely setting about a plan of recovery. Day after day, as he accurately measured his returning strength, his chief regret seemed to be that it did not come up to his expectations, or respond to his exertions. Yet he did wonders with his exhausted frame. In the middle of November, he was lying in Boston hovering between life and death, with his physicians daring only to hope a partial restoration after a long period of prostration. In the middle of February succeeding, he had so far conquered the enemy as to resume his seat in the House of Representatives at Washington, with a return of thanks, for the cordial and warm greeting that immediately on his showing himself interrupted the formal proceedings of the day. From that date he fell into his usual habits of life, conceding as little as possible to the serious inroad that had been made on his vigor. And for a time his constitution seemed to respond to the demands he was making on it. He returned to the excitement of politics, and to the irregular hours of Washington life, which had become to him a second nature, instead of seeking to form new habits of mental repose and regular sustenance of a physical system so nearly worn out. The consequence was not

immediate, but when it came it was decisive. As he rose in his place in the House of Representatives on the 21st of February, 1848, apparently with the design of making some motion or remark, he was observed first to hesitate and then to fall. The fatal bolt had sped. He was borne off to the Speaker's room, and was heard to utter the words "the last of earth," after which he never spoke more. The vital powers continued partially to act until the 23d, when Mr. ADAMS ceased to breathe. He had not been removed from the capitol.

The suddenness of this event, the place in which it occurred, the circumstances attending it, the high character and long public services of the deceased, all conspired strongly to excite the public attention. For several days little was done in either House of Congress. Not only were the funeral obsequies among the most impressive ever witnessed in Washington, but they were in one sense extended to great length by a formal vote of the House of Representatives, organizing a committee of one member from each state, for the purpose of following the remains to their last resting place at Quincy. As the procession passed through the three great cities, crowds followed it in each, and when it reached Boston, Faneuil Hall was thrown open as the fitting place temporarily to receive the body. At last on the 11th of March, they were transferred to and finally deposited at Quincy, with appropriate ceremonies in presence of the committee, and an eloquent sermon from Dr. Lunt, the pastor of the church of which Mr. ADAMS had been a member. Numerous tributes were paid to his memory in all parts of the Union, in the form of eulogies and resolutions of public bodies, all going to show the sense of the nation, that one of its greatest and purest characters had ended his course with honor and been gathered to his reward.

During his long life of almost eighty-one years, Mr. ADAMS was distinguished not only by faithful attention to all the great duties of the high stations he was called to fill, but to all their minor ones. As president, as member of the cabinet, as minister abroad, he examined all questions that came before him, and examined all, in all the minutiæ of their detail, as well as in all the vastness of their comprehension.

In the observance of all the proprieties of life, Mr. ADAMS was a noble example. In the exercises of the school and of the college—in the meetings of the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial societies, —in attendance upon Divine worship,—he gave the punctual attendance rarely seen but in those who are free from the weight of public cares. It is believed to have been the wish of his heart to die, like Chatham, in the midst of his labors, and the wish was gratified.

Painted by C. R. Leslie. Engraved by G. F. Storm.

Louisa Catherine Adams

LOUISA CATHERINE ADAMS.

In our Republic, where the principle of distribution is perpetually at work against the long continuance of property in the hands of any race of individuals, the duties of the female sex may be generally expected to prove too burdensome to admit of great devotion to pursuits exclusively literary or political, or even to that species of social influence which, in other countries, has not unfrequently made women the arbiters of weal or woe to a nation. The position in life of the greater number, is determined by the accident of marriage, and depends upon the success of exertions more often made by their partners after than before that event. Mere wealth is rather an obstacle than an aid to the acquirement of the distinction most coveted in America, while political success often attends him in advanced age, who has, in early days, struggled hard with poverty, and devolved upon a wife, selected perhaps with sole reference to the most ordinary duties of life, all the drudgery of domestic cares. The duties of a housekeeper, a wife, and a mother, while they make every woman who faithfully executes them respectable in the eyes of the world, do not, when exclusively pursued, so well fit her to shine upon that brilliant theatre of politics and fashion to which she may yet be called. This may in part account for the somewhat remarkable absence of female biography in the annals of our nation, and for the little power which appears hitherto to have been exerted by individuals of that sex in the circles of American society. At the same time it ought never to be forgotten that the greatest praise is due to those, who have been by circumstances distinguished above the rest, for having, as well by example as by precept, so rigidly preserved the standard of our morality pure; in this manner earning for themselves a far more substantial claim to the public gratitude, than all the fame which ever grew out of the brilliant salons of the corrupt society in the French metropolis.

Mrs. Louisa Catherine Adams in early life enjoyed advantages not usual at that period to American ladies. The daughter of Joshua

Johnson, a citizen of the colony of Maryland, engaged in commercial pursuits in London, she was born in that city on the 12th of February, 1775. Mr. Johnson, although established in the mother country when the Revolution commmenced, was not one of those who took sides with her, and settled into the character of refugees and exiles from their native land. While his brother, Thomas Johnson, took a leading part at home, both in the Colony and as a delegate to the first Congress, and the remaining members of a numerous family were actively engaged in the war which ensued; he, himself, retired from Great Britain to Nantes in France. There he received, from the federal congress, an appointment as commissioner to examine the accounts of all the American functionaries then entrusted with the public money of the United States in Europe; in the exercise of the duties of which he continued until the peace of 1782. Our National Independence having then been recognised, he returned to London, where he continued to reside, and where he acted as consular agent for the United States, until his final return, in 1797, to his native soil.

It thus happened that the early years of Mrs. ADAMS were passed partly in Great Britain and partly in France, from each of which she derived advantages of observation, and opportunities for accomplishment in mind and manners, not very common with her countrywomen of that day. These eminently fitted her for the part she was in after-life called to perform. In the house of her father in London, then a general resort of all Americans, who, whether for business or pleasure, frequented that metropolis, she was introduced into society; and it was here that Mr. John Quincy Adams, when commissioned by President Washington to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of 19th November, 1794, and to agree upon arrangements for carrying some of its provisions into execution, found her. The dry details of diplomatic conference were relieved by evenings of social intercourse, and the formalities of British negotiation made less tedious by the awakening of the most agreeable sympathies. Mr. Pinkney arrived, and Mr. Adams became released from his official duties; but in the mean time a matrimonial engagement had been contracted, which, on the 26th day of July, 1797, that is, the year following these events, terminated in a marriage, at the church of All-Hallows, where Miss Johnson became Mrs. ADAMS.

The discriminating eye of President Washington marked out Mr. Adams, while a young lawyer, in Boston, writing political essays upon the leading topics of that day, as fit for the public service. For some years prior to this marriage, he had been occupying the station

of minister resident at the Hague, and the eminent ability of his official despatches confirmed the impression he had previously made. It procured for him the very honorable and confidential trust which carried him to London, as well as a subsequent promotion to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Lisbon. He was upon the eve of departure at the period of his marriage, when the accession of his father, John Adams, to the Presidency, occurred. This was productive of no advancement, but simply of a transfer from Lisbon in Portugal, to a similar station at Berlin in Prussia.

Perhaps it is not easy at this time to form a just estimate of the position occupied by representatives of the United States at the Courts of the sovereigns of Europe at the period now referred to. We were regarded as hardly more than successful rebels, whose example was not entirely of good omen, and as yet manifesting in our local discord and disorganization, rather an incapacity for regulating a well-ordered State, than any prospect of arriving at a station of much political weight. Under such circumstances, the appearance of representatives at courts, to which none had before been sent, was an event not merely to excite curiosity. It was known that a new government, having some appearance of stability, had been organised, at the head of which had been placed General Washington; and the first impressions obtained from his administration were to be strengthened or not, according to the efficiency of the agents he might think proper to employ. To Berlin, where no minister had before been acknowledged, Mr. Adams repaired, conducting his wife, as a bride, at once to play her part in the higher circles of social and political life. It need scarcely be added, that she proved perfectly competent to this; and that during four years, which comprised the period of her stay at that court, notwithstanding almost continual ill-health, she succeeded, in making friends and conciliating a degree of good will, the recollection of which was, till the time of her death, believed to be among the most agreeable of the associations with her varied life.

In 1801, after the birth of her eldest child, she embarked with Mr. Adams on his return to the United States. The revolution which had taken place in the political affairs of the country, determined him to resume the practice of the law in Boston, to which place she came, a stranger to the habits and manners, though not to the feelings, of the people about her. Scarcely had sufficient time elapsed to become at home, before she was called upon to follow the wandering fortunes of the wife of a United States' senator. Very fortunately for her, a sister had become established at Washington, in whose house she again met

the members of her own family, and thus found an agreeable home for those winter months, which other ladies, similarly situated, are rarely so happy as to enjoy. Almost always accompanying Mr. Adams, the alternative of Boston in summer and Washington in winter, continued with little intermission until the year 1808, when he resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. But in the ensuing year, 1809, a new revolution in her prospects and another scene awaited her. Mr. Adams was appointed by President Madison the first accredited minister to the empire of Russia; and as he was required to embark forthwith, she decided upon going with him, even at the cost of leaving with their grand-parents two of her children, to pursue their education at home, and taking only the third and youngest, then an infant of about two years old. They sailed from Boston early in August, and after a long and somewhat hazardous passage, arrived in St. Petersburg towards the close of October.

Here, again, Mrs. Adams was destined to be the first lady presented to the notice of the Russian court as a representative of American female manners and character, and here again she succeeded in making a favorable impression. But there were circumstances which rendered her abode at St. Petersburg much less agreeable to herself than it had been at Berlin. The great distance from America was not the only obstacle to communication. The extraordinary events which occurred in Europe at this period, rendered the difficulties much greater than usual in obtaining that information respecting those whom she had left behind, which was essentially necessary to cheerfulness; and the severity of the winter climate, together with the more formal and less friendly character of Russian society, did not contribute to its acquisition. Domestic sorrow, too, in the loss of an infant daughter, born during her stay there, threw its shadow over the scene. What universal anxiety marked the era, it is difficult in these quiet times to realise! For the civilized world was in arms; and while at one moment the desolating progress of Napoleon had almost touched the city in which she was then dwelling, and from which its own sovereign, the Emperor Alexander, was meditating a retreat; at another, the thunders of the British cannon were resounding from the walls of the American capital, within which her friends resided. Here were lessons of human vicissitude, in different quarters of the globe, which might well fix the mind in the contemplation of dark views of fortune, as well as the insecurity even of existence.

In this connection it is not unworthy of remark, that of all those persons sent from the United States as envoys to the court of St. Pe-

tersburg since Mr. Adams, whose stay was of nearly six years, but one (Mr. Middleton) has been content to remain for any period of considerable duration. The reason may probably be traced to the diametrical opposition of the Russian habits to those of our own country, the harshness of the climate, and to the exclusion, for so many of the winter months, from any thing approaching to social communication with home. Hence, high as this mission is held in the rank of political distinctions, it comes in no very long time to be felt by the incumbent as an expulsion from American society little short of an honorable exile. Mr. and Mrs. ADAMS were themselves anxious to return home long before they did, but were prevented by circumstances, which made their stay even more disagreeable. The principal of these was the general war. The offer made by Alexander, of mediation between Great Britain and the United States, promised at one moment to make St. Petersburg the seat of negotiation, but it was subsequently transferred to Ghent; and thither Mr. Adams was directed to proceed, to take his part as one of the commissioners. This was in April, 1814, and the fate of the attempt at reconciliation appeared so doubtful, and the state of Europe so unsettled, that it was deemed best he should go alone. Thus, in addition to all the causes of a general or temporary character, which make a Russian winter, in ordinary cases, something of a trial, Mrs. ADAMS was destined to pass her sixth season alone—separated from her husband, and from all the other relatives or friends who had accompanied her out, but who had one by one dropped off to find their way home. This was not agreeable, but there was no alternative.

Spring, however, brought with it cheerful tidings of the probability of peace and of departure. The general pacification preceded the particular treaty between Great Britain and the United States concluded at Ghent but a short time; and upon this Mrs. ADAMS received a proposition to proceed at once by a land journey to Paris there to rejoin her husband. To accept it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might be in the way of execution, was the work but of a moment. For to her mind, what could be the terror of a solitary journey through the late theatre of a furious and bloody war, the plains and villages still bearing palpable evidence of its horrors, compared with that charming prospect of a return to more genial climes, to the company of an affectionate husband, and an approximation towards her long-absent children.

Those who knew Mrs. ADAMS in her later days only, will not be likely to imagine her as by nature robust, or by education bold. And yet few women of the age ever underwent more extraordinary fatigue

in her various journeys, or displayed more energy in the accomplishment of her undertakings. None, however, was so well calculated to test the strength of her nerves as that now in question. The passports of the Russian Government, however strong, and the reflection upon herself of the diplomatic character of her husband, however sacred, would, even in the most quiet times, have scarcely overcome, with many of the delicately nurtured female sex, the apprehensions of a departure in a carriage, alone, at a season still early for travelling, with a son eight years of age to take care of, and only menial servants of untried, and, as it proved, of very doubtful fidelity for her guard. In such circumstances, to be fastened in a snow-drift with night coming on, and to be forced to rouse the peasants of the surrounding country to dig them out, which happened in Courland, was no slight matter. But it was of little significance compared to the complicated anxieties incident to the listening, at every stopping place, to the tales of robbery and murder just committed on the proposed route, so perpetually repeated at that time to the traveller; and to the warnings given by apparently friendly persons of the character of her own servants, corroborated by the loss of several articles of value; and, most of all, to the observation of the restless contention between jarring political passions, under which the whole continent of Europe was heaving until it burst forth at the return of Napoleon from Elba. Hardly a day passed that did not require of Mrs. ADAMS some presence of mind to avoid becoming implicated in the consequences of party fury. For even the slight symbol of a Polish cap on the head of her servant came near making food for popular quarrel. Such was the sensibility of the public mind at the time.

A less determined woman, upon hearing of the condition into which France was thrown by Napoleon's return, would have stopped short at some intermediate point, without venturing to complete her undertaking. Not so with Mrs. ADAMS. She dismissed her servants, both of whom professed to be themselves afraid of going further, procured others, and went on. But she had not gone very far before she unluckily found herself entangled with a considerable detachment of the wild soldiery, elated to excess by the arrival of their great chief, and then on its way to Paris to prepare, under his inspection, for that last scene of slaughter, the field of Waterloo. This was a very awkward position, as the troops seemed disposed to require from all around them the most unequivocal declaration of political faith. Mrs. ADAMS at once appealed to the commander of the detachment, and by his advice she was enabled to fall back, although not without the exercise of con-

siderable prudence, until the last of the men had passed, when she diverged into another road, and by making a considerable circuit, avoided any further meeting. Having proved in this manner that calmness and presence of mind render many things perfectly practica ble which imagination at first invests with insuperable difficulties, she arrived in Paris safe and well, there to be greeted by her husband, on the evening of the 21st of March, 1815, immediately after that of the memorable arrival of Napoleon and the flight of the Bourbons.

The beginning of the celebrated hundred days! What an exciting moment to reach the French capital! crowded as it was with troops, collecting for the impending trial at arms, and its streets alive with that enthusiasm which, in its highest degree, it appears to be only within the scope of military heroism to excite. Whatever may have been the feeling throughout the country, there could not be a shadow of doubt in the mind of any spectator, that in the affections of the populace of Paris, as well as of the army, Napoleon was an idol. While, on the one hand, his appearance but for a few instants upon one of the balconies of the palace of the Tuilleries, was a signal for acclamation from the thousands who frequented its gardens to gain a glimpse of him; on the other, curses loud and deep, not unmingled with ridicule and con tempt, were every where to be heard uttered against Louis and the allies. Here was room for observation to last a lifetime! Here was room for testing even the contrasts of this world; for at one and the same moment the splendid reviews of a cavalry force rarely surpassed, were filling the square of the Place Carousel with its loudest and most spirit-stirring notes, and the yet unremoved collections of what the genius of centuries had hallowed, were spreading around them in the halls of the Louvre a sense of the solemn stillness and repose of the highest walk of art. Mrs. Adams was capable of appreciating the advantages thus thrown in her way; and to her, whose European life had carried her very little to the great French metropolis, this opportunity of seeing it at such a period, well rewarded her effort to reach it, and was ever considered among the most fortunate events in her existence.

But, however interesting Paris might be, there were ties in Great Britain to Mrs. Adams, where her husband's new duty as the Minister from the United States called him, which made her leave France with little regret. These ties were her children, who had come out from America to join her, and whose arrival afforded her a joy, for the absence of which no brilliant scenes could compensate. In itself, a residence in England so immediately after a war between the two countries, which had terminated not quite to the satisfaction of her pride,

was not calculated to be productive of much pleasure; yet it may fairly be questioned whether, in the bosom of her reunited family, and in the sweet and modest country-seat in the vicinity of London selected for their habitation, Mrs. ADAMS did not draw as much enjoyment from her domestic feelings, as she ever did from witnessing any of the more busy and exciting scenes in which she had been called to participate.

Two years thus elapsed, when the election of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency became the precursor of another change. One of his first official acts was the appointment of Mr. Adams to the responsible station of Secretary of State in his administration, and this, of course, required his immediate return to the United States. Upon receiving the intelligence, he took passage with his family in a vessel bound from London to New-York, where he arrived on the 6th of August, 1817, after just eight years of absence from his native country. Mrs. ADAMS thus took leave of Europe, after having passed in it the greater portion of her life, and that during a period, perhaps, as remarkable for a crowded succession of astonishing events as any in the history of man. To have lived in such times, so distinguished for the presence of all that exalts, adorns, or merely gives lustre to human action, was something of a privilege; but to have moved in scenes so various and so distant from each other, among the principal agents in all the great events at different points, was the lot among American ladies of scarcely any, excepting Mrs. ADAMS. Nevertheless she returned to our republican circles unwedded to the habits of a court, her mind unawed by the splendor either of civil or military monarchy.

The performance of the duties of the State department necessarily required a residence at Washington, and the manner in which Mr. Adams thought proper to devote himself to them, devolved upon his lady the entire task of making his house an agreeable resort to the multitudes of visiters who crowd to the capital on errands of business, or curiosity, or pleasure, from the various sections of the United States, during the winter season. A large diplomatic corps from foreign countries, who feel themselves in more immediate relations with the Secretary of State, and a distinguished set of public men, not then divided by party lines in the manner which usually prevails, rendered the society of that time, and Mrs. Adams's house, where it most often concentrated, among the most agreeable recorded in our annals. Much as it has been ridiculed since, the "era of good feelings" had some characteristics peculiar to itself. For an instant, sectional animosities relented, the tone of personal denunciation and angry crimination, too gene-

rally prevailing in extremes, yielded; and even where the jealous rivalry for political honors still predominated in the hearts of men, the easy polish of general society removed from casual spectators any sense of its roughness, or inconvenience from its impetuosity. Washington may have presented more brilliant spectacles since, but the rancor of party spirit has ever mingled its baneful force too strongly, not to be perceptible in the personal relations which have existed between the most distinguished of our political men.

During the eight years in which Mrs. ADAMS presided in the house of the Secretary of State, no exclusions were made in her invitations, merely on account of any real or imagined political hostility; nor, though keenly alive to the reputation of her husband, was any disposition manifested to do more than to amuse and enliven society. In this, the success was admitted to be complete, as all will remember who were then in the habit of frequenting her dwelling. But in proportion as the great contest for the Presidency, in which Mr. Adams was involved, approached, the violence of partisan warfare began to manifest its usual bad effects, and Mrs. ADAMS became inclined to adopt habits of greater seclusion. When, at last, the result had placed her in the President's mansion, her health began to fail her so much, that though she continued to preside upon occasions of public reception, she ceased to appear at any other times, and she began to seek the retirement, which after her return to private life she always preferred. Mr. Adams continued till the time of his death, a representative in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and this rendered necessary an annual migration from that State to Washington, and back again, as well as a winter residence within the sound of the gaities of that place; but while her age and health exempted her from the necessities of attending them, severe domestic afflictions soon contributed to remove the disposition. Thus the attractions of great European capitals, and the dissipation consequent upon high official station at home, though continued through that part of life when habits become most fixed, contributed nothing to change the natural elegance of her manners nor the simplicity of her tastes. In the society of a few friends and near relatives, and in the cultivation of the religious affections without display, she derived all the consolation which can in this world be afforded for her privations. To the world Mrs. ADAMS presented a fine example of the possibility of retiring from the circles of fashion, and the external fascinations of life, in time still to retain taste for the more quiet, though less showy attractions of the domestic fireside. A strong literary taste, which had led her to read much, and

a capacity for composition in prose and verse, furnished resources for her leisure moments, not with a view to that exhibition which renders such accomplishments too often fatal to the more delicate shades of feminine character, but for her own gratification, and that of a few relations and friends. The late President Adams used to draw much amusement in his latest years at Quincy, from the accurate delineation of Washington manners and character, which was regularly transmitted, for a considerable period, in letters from her pen. And if, as time advanced, she became gradually less able to devote her sense of sight to reading and writing, her practice of the more homely female virtues of manual industry, so highly commended in the final chapter of the book of Solomon, still amused the declining days of her varied career.

Mrs. Adams survived the shock occasioned by the demise of her husband, with whom she had celebrated the golden wedding day,—the fiftieth anniversary of their union,—more than one year, when on the 12th of April, 1849, she also experienced a severe paralytic affection not unlike that by which he had been first stricken down. She partially recovered, remaining disabled, in the power of active exertion. The city of Washington, where she had been attacked, now became her permanent place of residence, and she remained in retirement from the world, seeing and seen by only a few intimate friends and relatives, who could still rejoice in the cheerfulness and the patient resignation which she manifested under her privations. Blessed with the retention of her intellectual faculties to an unusual degree in that disease, at her advanced age, she continued for three years more to present an example of quiet and contented infirmity, as touching as it was beautiful, and a religious submission which shed a softened glow over the close of her brilliant day. Life terminated on the 15th of May, 1852, when she calmly passed away, just as the clock which she especially valued as a memorial of her departed companion, was striking twelve.

Such was the respect entertained for the character of Mrs. Adams in Washington, where, from having spent in it the greater part of the last five and thirty years, she was the most known, that both Houses of Congress spontaneously voted to adjourn over for the sake of attending her funeral, an honor never before paid to an American matron. The number of citizens who voluntarily followed her remains to their resting place, more strikingly testified her worth, than can do all the pomp and circumstance of woe not unfrequently lavished upon such as office has clothed with power, or wealth has supplied with favors to bestow.

NATIONAL PORTRAITS.

Edward Everett.

EDWARD EVERETT.

EDWARD EVERETT was born in Dorchester, Norfolk County, Massachusetts. His father, Oliver Everett, was the son of a farmer in the town of Dedham in the same county, and descended from one of the original settlers of that place, who came to this country about the year 1635. The family still remains in Dedham, like their predecessors for five generations, respectable cultivators of the soil. Deprived by the narrow circumstances of the family of early opportunities of education, Oliver Everett succeeded in preparing himself for college after he came of age. He graduated at Cambridge in 1779, at the age of twenty-eight, was settled at the New South Church in Boston in 1782, and left the ministry in 1792 on account of ill health. President Allen in his Biographical Dictionary speaks of his "high reputation" and of "the very extraordinary powers of his mind." He retired to a small farm in Dorchester, and was made a judge of the court of common pleas for Norfolk county. He died on the 19th of December 1802, at the age of fifty-one

EDWARD EVERETT, the subject of this memoir, was the fourth in a family of eight children. The late Alexander H. Everett, minister to Spain, and afterwards commissioner to China, was an older brother. EDWARD was born on the 11th of April, 1794. His education, till he was thirteen years of age, was obtained almost exclusively at the public schools in Dorchester and Boston, to which latter place the family removed after his father's decease. He mentions, however, in his speech in Fanueil Hall, on occasion of the death of Mr. Webster, that he was for a short time a pupil of the distinguished statesman, who took the place of his brother, Ezekiel Webster, for a few weeks at a private school kept by the latter in Boston. In February, 1807, he was sent to the Academy at Exeter, in New Hampshire. Here, under the tuition of the celebrated Dr. Abbott, he completed his preparation for college. He entered Harvard University in August of that year,

and graduated in 1811, with the highest honors of his class, and with a reputation which has seldom been attained at so early an age. After leaving college, he continued at Cambridge in the pursuit of theological studies. He filled the place of Latin tutor for about a year, and at the age of nineteen was settled for a short time in the ministry at Boston, during which time he wrote and published a "Defence of Christianity," an elaborate and most able work, displaying an extent of erudition which would be thought worthy of admiration in a scholar of mature age. In 1815, he was chosen professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University, and was permitted, for the improvement of his health and preparation for his new duties, to visit Europe, and pass some time at the principal foreign universities.

He embarked in one of the first vessels which sailed from Boston after the peace with England. Remaining in London till after the battle of Waterloo, he then left for Germany with his friend and townsman, Mr. George Ticknor, the distinguished author of the History of Spanish Literature. After passing a short time in the principal Dutch cities, they went to Göttingen, at that time the most celebrated of the German universities, where they remained two or three years. The vacations were employed in excursions to the principal cities and universities of the North of Germany. During his residence in Germany, Mr. EVERETT became acquainted with a considerable number of the most eminent literary and scientific men of the day, including Goethe, Blumenbach, Gauss, Heeren, Wolf, Hermann, Boeckh, Eichhorn, Hugo, and other celebrities.

Having completed his residence in Germany, he spent the winter of 1817–18 in Paris, engaged in philological pursuits, with free access to the immense treasures contained in the Royal library. He enjoyed the society of such men as Visconti, Alexander Humboldt, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, Koray, and General Lafayette. In the spring of 1818, he went over to England, passed some time at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, visited Wales, the Lakes, and Scotland, and passed a few days with Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, and with Dugald Stewart. During this visit to England, he became acquainted with many of the most distinguished literary and political characters, besides those just named, such as Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Holland, Lord Byron, Sir Humphrey Davy, and William Gifford.

In the fall of 1818 he returned to France, and in company with his friend and townsman, the late Hon. Theodore Lyman, commenced an extensive tour. They went first to Switzerland, and after making

the usual tour through the Cantons, crossed the Simplon to Milan, passed through Lombardy to Venice, and thence to Florence and Rome. The winter was spent at Rome in careful study of the antiquities of the city and neighborhood. While at Rome he saw much of Canova, of the mother of Napoleon and the other members of the Bonaparte family, including the ex-king of Holland, and his son the present emperor, then a lad of twelve or fourteen years of age.

In the latter part of the winter of 1818–19, still accompanied by General Lyman, he went to Naples; and after visiting the places of interest in the neighborhood, including Pestum, they crossed to Bari on the Adriatic, and thence traveled on horseback through a country little visited, without carriage-roads or public conveyances, and much infested by brigands, by the way of Lecce to Otranto. From this place they took passage to Corfu, and thence crossed to the coast of Albania. At Yanina they were received with great kindness by the aged vizier Ali Pacha and his son Muctar. Mr. EVERETT bore letters to the famous Albanian chief from Lord Byron. Crossing Mount Pindus and penetrating the vale of Tempe, after a visit to Veli Pacha at Turnavo the capital of Thessally, they went to Thermopylæ, and took the road over Parnassus to Delphi, Thebes and Athens. They then made an excursion into the Morea, and returning to the North, embarked in the Gulf of Volo for Constantinople, stopping by the way at the plain of Troy. This tour took place about ten months before the war with Ali Pacha which brought on the Greek revolution.

Towards the end of June they left Constantinople to return homeward, passing the Balkan mountain not far from the route afterwards taken by the Russian army. Crossing the Danube at Nicopol, they went to Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, and entered the Austrian dominions at the pass of Rothenturn. Having passed a week's quarantine in the secluded vale of the Aluda, at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, they proceeded to Hermanstadt the capital of Transylvania, and thence through the Banat of Temeswar, across Hungary to Vienna. After a short residence at the capital of the Austrian empire, they traversed the Tyrol and Bavaria, and returning by the way of Paris and London, took passage for America in September, 1819. The whole time spent by Mr. EVERETT in his studies and travels in Europe and Asia was above four years and a half, more than half of which was passed at the university of Göttingen.

Shortly after his arrival in Boston, he was solicited to assume the editorial charge of the North American Review. Its number of subscribers, at that time, was inconsiderable. The effect produced by

him upon its circulation was instantaneous, and great beyond parallel in our literary history. Many of its numbers passed into a second and even a third edition. He gave it an American character and spirit; and such was the tone he imparted to it, that it commanded, not only the admiration and applause of his own countrymen, but the respect and acknowledgments of foreign critics and scholars. He defended our institutions and character with so much spirit and power, that the voice of transatlantic detraction was silenced; and in one memorable instance, an apology to the people of the United States was drawn from Campbell the poet, at that time, the editor of a British periodical. His editorial connection with the North American Review lasted four years, from 1819 to the close of 1823; but he continued to contribute to its pages for several years. It has been enriched by the contributions of many of our ablest scholars, but no single writer did so much in its earlier stages, to secure and maintain its high stand and widespread influence as EDWARD EVERETT. If he had written nothing else, his articles in that journal would constitute a monument of genius, eloquence, erudition and patriotism, which would secure to him an enviable reputation. His lectures on Greek literature, delivered to the students of Harvard University, are remembered with respectful gratitude by all whose privilege it was to be connected with the college during his continuance in office there.

While residing at Cambridge he kept up a correspondence with his learned friends abroad, and particularly with the scholars and patriots of Greece. It was at his solicitation that Mr. Webster brought the subject of the Greek revolution before congress, in December, 1823. His articles in the North American Review, and other public appeals, did much to awaken the interest which was felt throughout the country in the struggle for Grecian independence.

In the year 1824, he delivered an oration before a literary society at Harvard University. The presence of General Lafayette, then on his tour throughout the United States, gave great interest to the occasion. This was the first of a long series of occasional addresses delivered by Mr. EVERETT. It established his fame as an orator. About this time a vacancy occurred in the representation of the congressional district to which Cambridge belongs. The most influential politician in the district was put in nomination as the regular candidate. A few young men met at Lexington, and made a volunteer nomination of EDWARD EVERETT. It was cordially responded to by the people of Middlesex, and he was chosen by a very large majority.

The old party lines were at this time obliterated. Nearly the whole of

New England had united in the election of John Quincy Adams. Mr. EVERETT, in common with nineteen-twentieths of the people of Massachusetts, was a supporter of his administration. In December, 1825, he took his seat in congress, to which he was reëlected for the four following terms, by great majorities. He was from the first one of the most laborious members of the house. For the whole period of ten years he was a member of the committee of foreign affairs, and for a part of the time its chairman. Even when not chairman he drew many of its reports; among others that on the Panama Mission, the principal subject of debate at the first session of the nineteenth congress. After having made two or three reports on the subject of the claims of American citizens on foreign powers for spoliations committed upon our commerce during the French continental system, he continued to discuss the subject in the North American Review. He finally collected all the facts and arguments on the subject in reference to each foreign power, and published them in a separate volume. Much of the credit of having finally procured the adjustment of those claims is due to him, for the manner in which the subject was thus kept before the public mind.

He was chairman of the select committee, during Mr. Adams's presidency, on the Georgia controversy; and always took a leading part, while in congress, in the efforts that were made to protect the Indians from injustice. In the spring of 1827 he addressed a series of letters to Mr. Canning on the subject of the colonial trade, which were extensively re-published. He always served on the library committee and generally on that for the public buildings. Together with the late Hon. John Sergeant, he constituted the minority on the famous retrenchment committee. He drew the report for the committee in favor of the heirs of Fulton. Together with Governor Ellsworth of Connecticut, he constituted the minority of the bank investigating committee, which was despatched to Philadelphia, and wrote the minority report. He wrote the minority report of the committee of foreign relations in reference to the controversy with France, in the spring of 1835; distinguished himself by the high ground he took on the subject in debate; and supplied the words of the resolution unanimously passed in reference to it, by the house of representatives. He also, at the same session, prepared a statement on French spoliations prior to 1800, which was printed by order of the house.

Such were some of his congressional labors. He was emphatically there, as everywhere, a working man. He made himself perfectly acquainted with every subject that came before the house. His speeches

and reports exhaust all the facts and arguments that belong to their topics. His manner of speaking was simple, elegant, and persuasive; and always secured attention. He was firm and steadfast in his political course; but urbane, respectful, and just toward his opponents. He disarmed his enemies, and was faithful to his friends; and his whole deportment was consistent with the history of his life, and will be readily acknowledged by his associates, of every party, to have been every way becoming the gentleman, the scholar and the patriot.

In the interim of congress, during the summer of 1829, he made an extensive tour through the south-western and western states, and was everywhere received with marked attentions, having been honored by public dinners in Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, without distinction of party.

On the election of Governor Davis to the senate of the United States, Mr. EVERETT was nominated as his successor in the chief-magistracy of Massachusetts and chosen by a large majority in the autumn of 1835. He was afterward three times reëlected. Among the measures introduced and matured during his administration were the subscription of the State to the stock of the Western Rail Road, which insured the execution of that great work; the organization of the Board of Education and the foundation of Normal schools, both measures of very great importance and utility in reference not merely to the schools of Massachusetts but of the United States generally; the scientific and agricultural surveys of the commonwealth, by which much light was thrown upon its productive resources; and the establishment of a commission for the revision of the criminal law. These measures were all suggested by Governor EVERETT, and materially promoted by his concurrence and support.

In the autumn of 1839, after four years of successful and highly popular administration, local questions connected with the license laws and the militia defeated his rëelection. Judge Morton, who for a long course of years had been an unsuccessful candidate for the office of governor of Massachusetts, succeeded by one vote out of more than one hundred thousand.

Thus relieved from public duty, Mr. EVERETT was led by domestic reasons to visit Europe a second time. He sailed with his family in June 1840. They passed the summer in France, and the following year in Italy, principally in Florence and its vicinity. It was their intention to remain in Italy another winter. The presidental election in November, 1840, having resulted in the election of General Harri-

son and the appointment of Mr. Webster as secretary of state, Mr. EVERETT was in the course of the summer sent as minister of the United States to the court of St. James. Our relations with England at that time were in a most critical condition. The controversy relative to the north-eastern boundary had reached a point of extreme irritation on both sides, and one at which further amicable discussion seemed almost hopeless. The more recent affairs of the burning of the "Caroline" and the arrest of M'Leod had, both in the United States and in England, greatly excited the public mind. A correspondence of a very uncompromising character had passed between the British minister and Mr. EVERETT's predecessor on the seizure and detention of American vessels on the coast of Africa by British cruisers. It is a striking proof of the confidence placed in his discretion, that, as we learn from his late speech on the affairs of Central America, he was sent to London to discuss all these questions, without any specific instructions from the government of the United States, every thing being left to his own judgment and knowledge of the various subjects.

Many other questions of great magnitude and interest were also pending between the two governments, some of a private nature relating to the claims of individuals, others of a public character. The most important of the last class was the question relative to the construction of the first article of the convention between the two countries on the subject of the fisheries. After an elaborate correspondence of a year or two, Mr. EVERETT obtained from the British government the concession of the right of American fishermen to fish in the bay of Fundy. This concession has been pronounced by competent authority the only one ever obtained by the United States from Great Britain on the subject of the fisheries. It is scarcely necessary to say that what was yielded by Great Britain as a concession was claimed by Mr. EVERETT, on the most conclusive grounds, as the right of the United States under the convention of 1818.

In the spring of 1843, when it was determined by the United States to send a minister to China to open the intercourse with that country on the new basis, Mr. EVERETT was selected by the president and senate for this important trust, which appointment he declined. He also received full powers from the president for the final adjustment of the Oregon question. The English government had, however, in the meantime, sent Sir Richard Pakenham to Washington with a view to the transfer of the negotiations to this country.

On the return of Mr. EVERETT to the United States in the autumn of 1845, he was immediately appointed president of Harvard univer-

sity, and after much hesitation accepted the office. Having kept up his literary pursuits and tastes, and always taken a practical interest in education, even during the most active period of his life, there was much that was congenial to him in this new sphere of duty. He had scarce ever ceased to be in some way connected with the college since he entered it as a boy in 1807. His administration lasted three years and was of the highest value to the institution. He devoted to its service all the enthusiasm inspired by his earliest associations; all the ardor of his character; his habits of severe application to business; and the mature fruit of the studies and experience of his life. It was a matter of deep regret to his friends, and the friends of the institution, that the trivial and burdensome details of official duty and of the discipline of the college so wore upon his health, as to compel him at the end of three years to tender his resignation.

Mr. EVERETT devoted a portion of his leisure time after resigning the presidency to the preparation of the edition of his orations and speeches, which appeared in two volumes octavo, in 1850. This collection contains a series of addresses on almost every variety of public occasion, scattered over a period of more than a quarter of a century. Among them are several speeches delivered at public meetings in England, and received with great favor by the most enlightened audiences in that country.

When it was proposed to issue a new edition of the selected works of Mr. Webster, the superintendence of the publication was, at Mr. Webster's request, undertaken by Mr. EVERETT. The first volume of the collection contains a detailed memoir of the public life of the great American statesman. This work was, in all respects, a labor of love. They had been from an early period the most intimate personal friends, and at a later period confidential associates in political life. In the speech in Fanueil Hall, to which we have already alluded, Mr. EVERETT quoted a sentence to the following effect, from the last letter but one ever received by him from Mr. Webster: "We now and then see, stretching across the heavens, a clear, blue, cerulean sky, without cloud or mist or haze. And such appears to me our acquaintance, from the time when I heard you for a week write your lessons in the little school-house in Short street, to the date hereof, 21st July, 1852." By Mr. Webster's will, Mr. EVERETT was appointed chairman of his literary executors.

A few months only elapsed after the publication of his works when the lamented death of the great statesman took place. At the time when his resignation had been contemplated, a year before, he had

recommended Mr. EVERETT as his successor. On Mr. Webster's decease, his place at the head of Mr. Fillmore's cabinet was immediately tendered to Mr. EVERETT. He has himself alluded to the circumstances under which he took charge of the department of state, in the following terms:

"Called as I was in the month of November, without a day's preparation, and after a retirement of seven years from all active participation in political life, to occupy—but, alas! how far from filling—the place of one of the foremost statesmen of the age; called upon within three or four weeks, the greater part of which was passed in the bustle of a public house, without a book to refer to, without a leisure moment for research or inquiry, to take up and dispose of such difficult questions as the Lobos Islands, the Crescent City affair, the difficulty about the Fisheries, and then this last great subject of the tripartite convention,—called upon to take up all these questions under the daily pressure of the routine of the department, (enough of itself to put to the test the stoutest capacity of labor and endurance,) I did feel that this was a task of no ordinary magnitude, and one that should entitle a person to some charitable consideration for any imperfection or defect in the performance of the duty."

The arduous duties of the department of state, thus referred to here, in the concurrent opinion of the public, were discharged in a manner not merely satisfactory, but highly honorable to Mr. EVERETT and creditable to the country. His letter to the French and English ministers, on the subject of the proposed Cuban convention, has been welcomed with an unanimity of public favor rarely enjoyed by public documents on questions which divide the public mind.

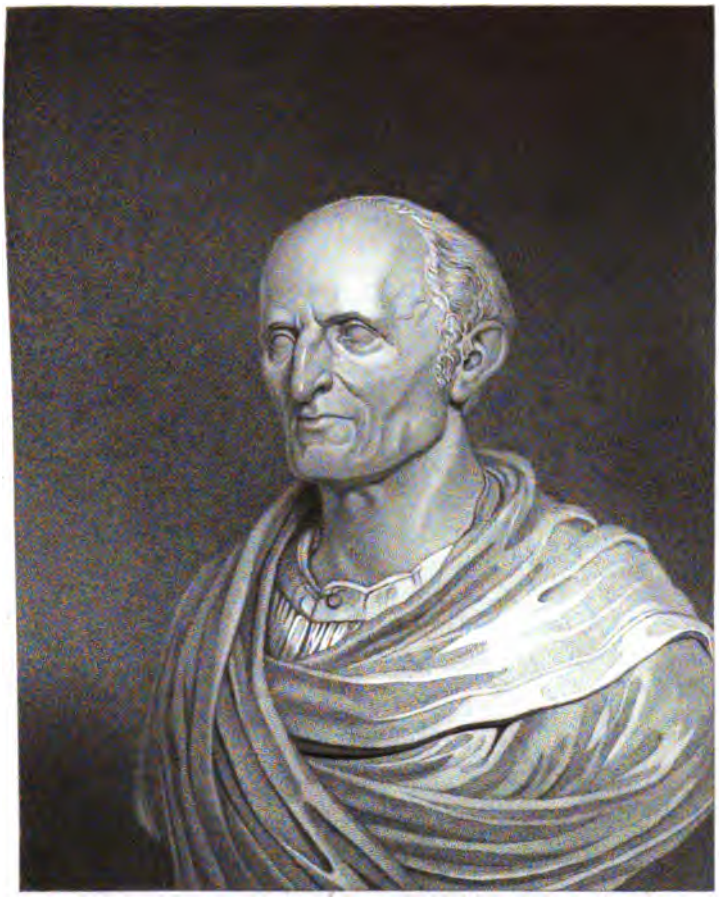
Mr. EVERETT has always been distinguished for the readiness with which he has responded to the calls made upon him to address public meetings on occasions of almost every description. His speech before the American Colonization Society during the past winter (1853) has attracted much notice, and may be fairly classed among the most successful discussions of the great objects of that important institution.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Mr. EVERETT took his seat in the senate of the United States as successor to Mr. John Davis. While these remarks are falling from our pen, the newspapers contain a report of his first speech in this new position, being an exposition of our relations with Central America. It may be proper to say, that while Mr. EVERETT was secretary of state, he made a report to the president on this subject, and recommended an important change in our diplomatic arrangements in that quarter. This recommendation was adopted and

the requisite appropriation made by congress. His speech is thus characterized by a leading New York journal:

"Mr. EVERETT's speech will be read with universal interest. The sentiment and principles of the speech, as well as its language and temper, will commend themselves to the warm approbation of the great mass of the American people. Taken in connection with the letter on the tripartite treaty, and Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Hülsemann, it completes the best and most authoritative exposition ever made of the true relations of the American Republic to the rest of the world—of the duties which those relations involve, and of the policy we ought to pursue in our intercourse with other nations. It is saturated with the true spirit of American progress—remote alike from the conservatism which ignores liberty, dignity, and the inevitable changes of time in its timid apprehensions of danger, and from the rash radicalism which scoffs at experience and prudence, and takes counsel only of its courage, its conceit, and its ambition.

The foregoing details of Mr. EVERETT's political life have left us no space to follow him, as we should be glad to have done, in his literary and scientific labors. While residing in England his presence was in great request at literary and scientific meetings, and gave him frequent opportunities to draw more closely the intimacy between the two nations, whose common language he uses so happily. When at home, he is one of the most laborious and punctual members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of several historical and literary associations of like character. His assistance at their meetings has often given new life and movement to their proceedings. His contributions to the public literary journals have been frequent and valuable. At every sort of public gathering—political, agricultural, academical and philanthropic—he has, with careful but ready and classical eloquence, given spirit and character to the occasion. The cause of popular education has found him a warm and active friend. He has at all times participated largely in the labors of the public lecture-room, Mechanics' Institute and Lyceum. The character of his mind and the object of his life and labors are aptly characterized by himself, in specific allusion to his letter on the tripartite convention above referred to. It has been the aim of his literary as well as of his political exertions to harmonize the rich legacies of the past with the richer hopes of the future, and in his own words, "to reconcile the progressive spirit and tendency of the country and the age with the preservation of the public faith, with the sanctity of the public honor, and with the dictates of an enlightened and liberal conservatism."



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L. L. D. F. R. S.

Nath^l Bowditch

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, LL. D. F. R. S.

Of all the various branches of intellectual pursuit, that science which explains the system of the universe, and reveals the mechanism of the heavens, must always take the lead as the most sublime and marvellous; and the foremost and most successful cultivators of this science will always be classed among the greatest of men. What, indeed, can be more astonishing than that a being like one of us, endowed, apparently, with no higher or different powers, should be able to obtain so minute and accurate knowledge of those distant planets, and be as well acquainted with their constitution, elements, and laws, as the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, with the appropriate objects of their sciences? Nothing gives so exalted an idea of the power of man, and the extent and reach of his capacities, as his ability to calculate with unerring precision the distances of those twinkling orbs; to determine their figures, magnitudes, and velocities; to measure their weight, estimate their relative attractions and disturbing forces; delineate their orbits, register their laws of motion, fix the times of their revolution, and predict the periods of their return. To a common mind, uninstructed in the science, there is nothing that appears so much like divine wisdom. A Galileo, a Kepler, a Newton, seem to him to belong to another race, a higher order of beings. They appear to possess some additional faculties.

Nothing can be more certain than the doctrines of Astronomy. They rest on impregnable foundations, on the demonstrations of mathematical evidence, than which nothing, except the evidence of consciousness, can be more satisfactory and conclusive. It was a science that early engaged the notice of men, and it has always exercised a purifying and elevating influence on its votaries. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Who can look upon those brilliant points, and not fancy them the spangled pavement of a divine abode? There is virtue, as well as poetry and philosophy in them. They shed down a heal-

ing and restorative influence upon their worshippers. They are the symbols of endurance and perpetuity.

In the removal of NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, death deprived the scientific world of one of its noblest ornaments—one, who occupied the most prominent place among the scientific men of this country. His position as a public man, the various offices he filled, and especially the value of his works to the advancement of science, the improvement of navigation, and the security of commercial enterprizes, justify the notice which we now propose to take of his life and character. There was much of that life instructive and encouraging, particularly to the young, the friendless, and the poor: there was much in that character worthy of eulogy and imitation.

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 26th day of March, 1773. He was the fourth child of Habakkuk and Mary Ingersoll Bowditch. His ancestors, for three generations, had been shipmasters; and his father, after retiring from that employment, carried on the trade of a cooper, by which he gained a scanty and precarious subsistence for a family of seven children. He enjoyed no other advantages of early instruction than such as could be obtained at the common public schools of his native town, which were at that time very inferior to what they have since become, being wholly inadequate to furnish even the ground-work of a respectable education. It was highly honorable to him that, although he had not himself the benefits of a liberal education, he felt the importance and acknowledged the value of it; and accordingly gave to his children the best which the country afforded, and took a deep interest, and, for many years, an efficient agency in the University at Cambridge. The advantages of school, such as they were, he was obliged to forego at the early age of ten years, that he might go into his father's shop and help to support the family. He was, however, soon transferred as an apprentice to a ship-chandler, in whose shop he continued until he went to sea, first as clerk, afterwards as supercargo, and finally as master and supercargo jointly. It was whilst he was in the ship-chandler's shop that his characteristic attachment to mathematical pursuits first developed itself. Every moment of leisure was given to the slate.

From his earliest years he was a diligent reader; and he has been heard to say that, when quite young, he read through a whole Encyclopedia without omitting a single article.

He sailed on his first voyage on the 11th of January, 1795, at the age of twenty-two, as clerk to Captain Henry Prince on board the

ship Henry, of Salem. The ship sailed for the Isle of Bourbon, and returned home after an absence of exactly a year.

His second voyage was made as supercargo on board the ship Astræa, of Salem. The vessel sailed to Lisbon, touched at Madeira, and then proceeded to Manilla, and arrived at Salem in May, 1797. He made his third voyage the following year, to Cadiz and the Mediterranean. He continued in the same ship, and sailed on his fourth voyage in 1799, to Batavia and Manilla, and returned in 1800. He continued in the East India trade until 1804, when he quitted the sea, and became President of a Marine Insurance Company in Salem.

In the course of these voyages Mr. BOWDITCH took great interest in the instruction of the sailors, who could read and write, in the principles of navigation; and he never appeared so happy as when he could inspire a sailor with a proper sense of his individual importance, and of the talents he possessed, and might call into action. In this he was remarkably successful; and at Salem it was considered a high recommendation of a seaman that he had sailed with Mr. BOWDITCH, and it was often sufficient to procure for him an officer's berth.

His attention was directed, at an early age, to the *Principia* of Newton; but as that work was published in Latin, a language which he had not learned, he was obliged to obtain assistance in translating it; but he soon discovered that his own knowledge of the subject, with the aid of the mathematical processes and diagrams on the pages of the work, enabled him to comprehend the reasoning of the author; and by dint of perseverance he acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin to enable him to read any work of science in it. He afterwards learned French, for the purpose of having access to the treasures of mathematical science in that language; and to indulge his taste for general literature, he studied Spanish, German, and Italian.

It has been stated, in relation to the origin of one of Mr. BOWDITCH's principal works, that on the day previous to his sailing on his last voyage he was called on by Mr. Edmund M. Blunt, then a noted publisher of charts and nautical books at Newburyport, and requested to continue the corrections which he had previously commenced on John Hamilton Moore's book on navigation, then in common use on board our vessels. This he consented to do; and in performance of his promise he detected such a multitude of errors, that it led to the construction of his "New American Practical Navigator," the first edition of which was published in 1800, and has been of immense service to the nautical and commercial interests of this

country. It is a work abounding with the actual results of his own experience, and containing simple and expeditious formulas for working nautical problems. Had he never done any thing else, he would, by this single act, have conferred a lasting obligation to his native land. Every vessel that sails from the ports of the United States, from Eastport to New Orleans, is navigated by the rules and tables of his book. It is also extensively used in the British and French navies.

In 1802, at the age of twenty-nine, his ship lying wind-bound at Boston, he went out to Cambridge to attend the exercises on commencement day; and whilst standing in one of the aisles of the church, the President announced his name amongst those on whom had been conferred the degree of Master of Arts. The annunciation came upon him wholly by surprise. It was the proudest day of his life; and of all the distinctions which he subsequently received from numerous learned and scientific bodies at home and abroad, there was not one which afforded him half the pleasure, or which he prized so highly, as this degree from Harvard.

In 1806 Mr. Bowditch published his admirable chart of the harbors of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Manchester, the survey of which had occupied him during three summers. This was a work of great exactness and beauty.

On the establishment of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, at Boston, in 1823, he was invited to take charge of it, with the title of Actuary. He accepted of the appointment, and accordingly removed to that city, where he continued to reside till the time of his decease. He discharged the duties of his trust with skill and fidelity, and to the entire satisfaction of the company.

While he resided at Salem, he undertook his translation and commentary on the great work of the French astronomer, La Place, entitled *Mécanique Céleste*. This was the great work of his life. The illustrious author of that work undertakes to explain the whole mechanism of our solar system, to account for all its phenomena, and to reduce all the anomalies in the apparent motions and figures of the planetary bodies to certain definite laws. It is a work of great genius and immense depth, and exceedingly difficult to be comprehended. This arises not merely from the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, and the medium of proof being the higher branches of the mathematics, but chiefly from the circumstance that the author, taking it for granted that the subject would be as plain and easy to others as to himself, very often omits the intermediate steps and connecting links in his

demonstrations. He grasps the conclusion without showing the process. Dr. BOWDITCH used to say, "I never come across one of La Place's '*Thus it plainly appears*,' without feeling sure that I have got hours of hard study before me to fill up the chasm, and find out and show *how* it plainly appears." This gigantic task was begun in the year 1815, and was the regular occupation of his leisure hours to the time of his death. His elucidation and commentaries, while they show him to have been as thoroughly master of the mighty subject as La Place himself, will make that great work—the most profound of modern times—accessible to innumerable students, who, without such aid, would be compelled to forego the use of it. Let it not be said, in disparagement of the labors of Dr. BOWDITCH, that this was not an original work, but merely a translation. Suppose it had been so. What then? Was it not still a benefaction to those who are acquainted only with the English language to bring this great work within their reach? But he did more. It is more than half an original commentary and exposition, simplifying and elucidating what was before complex and obscure; supplying omissions and deficiencies, fortifying the positions with new proofs, and giving additional weight and efficacy to the old ones; and, above all, recording the subsequent discoveries, and bringing down the science to the present time. It has been asserted that La Place, to whom Dr. BOWDITCH sent a list of errors, (which, however, he never had the grace to acknowledge in any way,) once remarked, "I am sure that Dr. BOWDITCH comprehends my work, for he has not only detected my errors, but has shown me how I came to fall into them."

The first volume of the work was published in the year 1829, the second in 1832, and the third in 1834; each volume containing about a thousand quarto pages. The fourth and last volume was nearly completed at the time of his decease. He persevered to the last in his labors upon it; preparing the copy, and reading the proof-sheets in the intervals when he was free from pain. Though the work, on its appearance, met with more purchasers than he expected, yet its cost was a heavy draft on his income, and an encroachment on his little property. Yet it was cheerfully paid; and besides that, he gladly devoted his time, his talents, his health, and his life, to the cause of science and the honor of his native land. *That work is his monument.* He needs no other.

The progress of Dr. BOWDITCH's last illness was so unremitting, that he was not able to complete the final revision of the whole of his great work. The fifth and only remaining volume is, comparatively,

of little importance, and it probably would have had but little revision if he had survived.

Dr. BOWDITCH was eminently a self-taught and a self-made man. Whatever knowledge he possessed,—and it was great,—was of his own acquiring, the fruit of his solitary studies, with but little assistance from abroad. From his youth up, he was a pattern of industry, enterprise, and perseverance; suffering no difficulties to discourage, no disappointments to dishearten him. He combined qualities and habits which are usually considered incompatible. He was a contemplative, recluse student; and at the same time an active public man. He lived habitually among the stars, and yet he was a shrewd, practical man, and one of the most skilful of financiers. Judging from his published works, it might be supposed he had neither taste nor time for business, or the ordinary affairs of life; and judging from the large concerns which he managed, and the vast funds of which he had the supervision, it would seem impossible he could have had any time for study. He accomplished all by an economy of time, and the regularity of his habits. He was a remarkably domestic man. His affections clustered around his own fireside. His attachment to the calm and simple pleasures of his home was one of the most beautiful traits of his character. His time was divided between his office and his house; he was seldom drawn into company. When at home, he spent his time in his library, which he loved to have considered the family parlor. By very early rising, in winter two hours before light, he was enabled to accomplish much before others were stirring. After taking his evening walk he was again always to be found in the library, pursuing the same attractive studies, but ready and glad, at the entrance of a visiter, to throw aside his book, unbend his mind, and indulge in all the gaieties of a light-hearted conversation. There was nothing that he seemed to enjoy more than the free interchange of thought on all subjects of common interest. At such times the mathematician, the astronomer, the man of science disappeared; and he presented himself as the frank, easy, familiar friend. It was hardly credible that the agreeable, fascinating companion, who talked so affably and pleasantly on all the topics of the day, and joined so heartily in the quiet mirth or the loud laugh, could really be the great mathematician who had expounded the mechanism of the heavens, and taken his place with Newton, and Leibnitz, and La Place, amongst the great proficients in exact science.

Although mathematics was his chief and favorite pursuit, Dr. BOWDITCH still had a taste for general literature. He was fond of Shak-

speare, and Burns, and Bryant, and Sprague; and remembered and could repeat whole passages from their works.

He was a man of unsullied purity and most rigid integrity; and was always true to his moral as well as intellectual convictions.

From his boyhood, his mind had been religiously impressed. He had read the Bible under the eye of a pious mother, and he loved to repeat the sublime and touching language of Holy Writ.

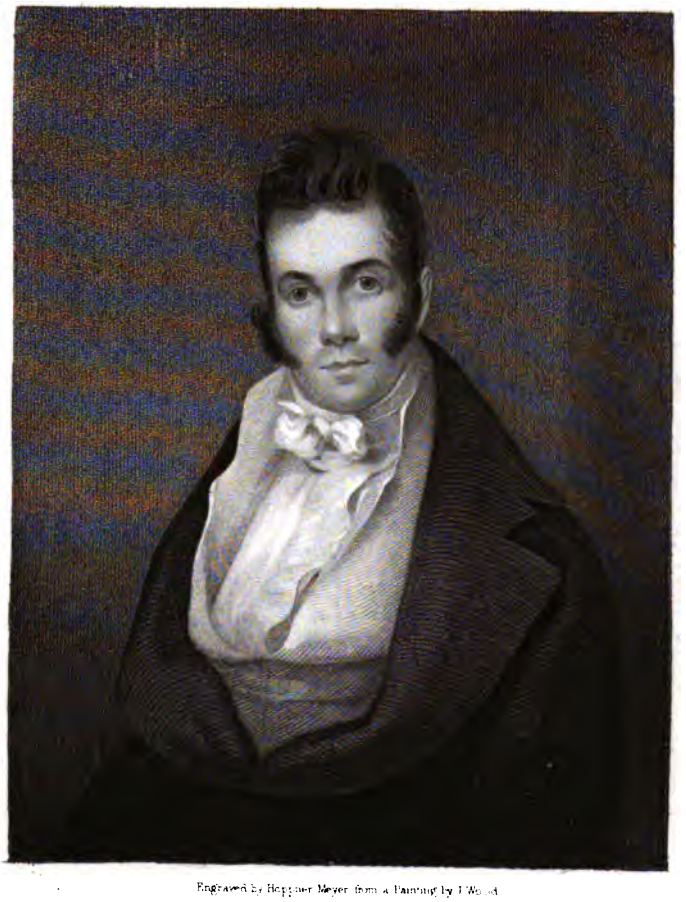
His last days were marked by the same cheerfulness and serenity of mind that we naturally look for on the death-bed of the pure and good. The disease of which he died was a schirrus in the stomach. For four weeks previous to his death, he could take no solid food, and hardly swallowed any liquid. He suffered, however, but little from hunger, but constantly from thirst; and the only relief and refreshment he could find was, in frequently moistening his lips and mouth with cold water. His frame was consequently exceedingly attenuated, and his flesh wasted away. At intervals his sufferings were intense, and the body at times triumphed over the spirit; but it was only for a moment, and the spirit again resumed its legitimate sovereignty. On the morning of his death, when his sight was dim and his voice almost gone, he called his children around his bed-side, and, like the patriarch Jacob, addressed each by name. "You see," said he, "I can distinguish you all, and I now give you my parting blessing. The time is come; Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word." These were his last words. He died on Friday, the 16th day of March, 1838; and was buried privately, on the morning of the following Sabbath, under Trinity Church, in Summer Street, Boston.

Dr. Bowditch twice held a seat in the Executive Council of Massachusetts, under the administration of Governors Strong and Brooks; but he had no taste for public life, no ambition for political honors.

He was admitted a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1799, and was its President from 1829 to the time of his decease. He received his degree of LL. D. from Harvard University in 1816, and was elected a member of the Royal Society of London in 1818. He contributed a great number of valuable papers to the Memoirs of the American Academy, and was the author of the article on Modern Astronomy, in Vol. XX. of the North American Review. There is also a brief account of the comet of 1806 furnished by him, and published in the Monthly Anthology, Vol. IV. He was an active and efficient member of the Boston Atheneum, the

East India Marine Society of Salem, and of several other societies of a literary or benevolent character.

Dr. BOWDITCH was held in very high estimation as a man of science by the whole learned world; and in social life he was regarded with the strongest feelings of attachment. By not a few he was spoken of as "*The Great Pilot,*" and by all was emphatically characterised as "a *live* man." Quickness and activity marked all his faculties, affections, and habits. Though devotedly attached to science, he could not cherish the idea of selling his works for his own advantage to those who might not be able readily to profit by them. Indeed he carried his feelings of independence so far, as to refuse to have his great translation of *La Place* published by subscription or at the expense of others, but chose to wait till he could afford to sustain the expense himself; saying, that he would rather expend a thousand dollars a year in this way, than by keeping a carriage. Friendship will long refuse to bury his name; science shall very long appreciate the services he rendered to the world; and benevolence will yet be found weeping at his tomb.



Engraved by Hoppner Meyer from a Painting by J. Wood

Thomas Say

THOMAS SAY.

SCIENCE, and particularly Natural Science, has fewer holds upon the popular attention than the achievements of war or policy. Laboring to render some small service to the whole human race, and occupied in preparing the workmanship of their minds for the scrutiny of men in foreign countries and future ages, the votaries of philosophy may perhaps feel their task even more dignified; as its field is more extensive and permanent than the changes of empires. They lean, perhaps, habitually less to the applause of the age and country in which they live, than to that gradually accumulating sanction of mankind which begins in obscurity, and gradually diffuses itself—a scattered and posthumous fame.

> "Not all at once, as thunder breaks the cloud:
> The notes at first, were rather sweet than loud;
> By just degrees they ev'ry moment rise,
> Fill the wide earth and gain upon the skies!"

Yet as our countrymen have never shown themselves deaf to the praise of honorable actions, though achieved in a field in which the great mass takes but little interest, and as they pride themselves in the reputation of the men who have done honor to America in the closet, we do not fear to entrust the fame of a naturalist to those who cherish with a just delight the memories of Godfrey and Rittenhouse, or the scientific renown of a Franklin. The political institutions of America, and the abstract researches of the intellect, have at least this quality in common—that they are applicable to a wider field than a single age or nation, and that the lessons they teach, however desirable for those who are engaged in them, derive their principal value from their adaptation to the general service of mankind.

The family of THOMAS SAY was settled in Pennsylvania from the time of its first colonization. His ancestors by the father's side are understood to have been Huguenots, who migrated to England in pursuit of religious liberty: and his lineal predecessor, in the fourth

degree of proximity, came to America with William Penn, accompanied by others of his family. The integrity and activity of these high principled and determined men were rewarded by a liberal share of the Divine blessings upon the external circumstances which surrounded them. They and their descendants generally lived to an extreme age, surrounded by peace and abundance, and enjoying the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens within the colony. His grandfather, Thomas Say, a very patriarchal man, was united, early in the eighteenth century, to the religious society of Friends. Dr. Benjamin Say was long known in Philadelphia as a skilful and benevolent practitioner of medicine, and enjoyed in that capacity a large share of public confidence and patronage. Having been connected with military proceedings during the war of Independence, he joined that seceding portion of the society of which he had been a member, known by the name of Free Quakers.

The immediate subject of our memoir was born July 27th, 1787; and was the eldest son of Dr. Benjamin Say, and Anna, his first wife, a daughter of Benjamin Bonsall, Esq., of Kingsessing. In his early youth he was brought up in rigid compliance with many of the peculiar observances of his religious connexion. He received a considerable part of his education at their school at Westtown in Pennsylvania, and the remainder of it generally at their other institutions. He manifested at this period a remarkable docility of temper, a profound and confiding respect for his parents and teachers, and a great fondness for study. He pursued, in independence of any one's advice or suggestion, a very extended course of reading among the writers of his own language; a pursuit, however, soon destined to give way to the accumulation of fact or natural truth.

At an early period of his life, a near family connexion with the celebrated naturalist, William Bartram, of Kingsessing, induced the young SAY, together with several of his acquaintance, to devote a considerable amount of time to collecting objects for their venerable friend's museum. This occurrence seems to have fixed his destiny. The student, young as he was, felt himself at once in his proper sphere. He immediately commenced the study of natural history; a pursuit which, though occasionally suffering a temporary interruption, was never wholly laid aside for the remainder of his life. The natural gaiety of youth, the attractions of fashion, the multiform allurements which surround a young man of easy fortune, and even the serious claims of a commercial establishment, were all capable of occupying his mind but for a short season, to be super-

seded by those boundless cravings for knowledge which an Almighty power had placed within his breast. When, in compliance with the earnest wishes of his father, he entered into commercial engagements, the future naturalist was found by his friends occupied with those pursuits for which nature had designed him, and leaving the details of business to others. The commercial efforts proved unsuccessful; and Mr. SAY, deprived of his patrimony, instead of endeavoring to repair the loss, resolved to devote himself exclusively to Natural History. From this may be dated the commencement of his purely scientific career; he now began to consider science as a profession, and the loss of worldly property seemed the road to higher intellectual distinction and more enlarged usefulness.

The studies of the youthful naturalist, about this period, underwent a temporary interruption from his service as a volunteer in the last war between our country and England. In common with several of his friends and relations, he became a member of the first troop of city cavalry; and in that capacity proceeded to Mount Bull, where he remained for some time during the years 1812 and 1813.

On the breaking up of this military post at the conclusion of peace, he had already devoted considerable labor to the study of natural history and the collection of the natural productions of our country, when he found the arena of his usefulness suddenly extended by the formation of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. When, on the 25th of January, 1812, a little association, which had previously met in a more private manner, resolved to assume this style and character, it was considered of importance that THOMAS SAY, though absent from the meeting, should be assumed as an original member.

The compliment thus paid to a modest and retiring man, shows, as was intended, the value which was then set upon his adhesion by the six others who thus associated him to their number. How amply his subsequent course justified their selection, the Academy has gladly testified. Such was the effect of private study, that his subsequent acquaintance had no opportunity of witnessing the infancy of his scientific powers. His elementary knowledge was complete, his acquaintance with classification adequate, and his power of observing and discriminating, accurate and ready. He was at once prepared for the difficult and laborious task of describing and cataloguing American productions in natural history. From this period, and for a considerable interval, his labors are almost exclusively directed in co-operation with the institution which he had assisted in founding.

In the tasks undertaken by Mr. SAY, almost every thing was to be done. The examination of the invertebral animals was to be introduced to the notice of our citizens; the myriads of minute objects of this class which attract the eye in our country, were to be investigated and described; the study was to be created, and the students induced to prosecute it.

For these purposes his efforts were truly unremitting. He was attentive and regular in his presence at the meetings of the Academy; and during the intervals, may be said to have been always at his post. Those who were in the habit of visiting the building will abundantly recollect the uniformity with which he was to be found there. The value of such assiduous attendance, by such a man, may be easily imagined. Those who were disposed to visit the establishment were at all times certain of agreeable society; for Mr. SAY was ever attentive to all reasonable calls for conversation, so much as even to surprise his friends. The effect of his liberality of disposition, with his amenity of manner, was peculiarly fascinating; and tended forcibly to produce in the same individuals a combined feeling of love for the science, and for the naturalist who had thus gained their affections.

This indefatigable and eminent man was at all times ready to bestow the fruits of his own researches upon those of his friends who felt an interest in similar pursuits. In this manner he was incalculably serviceable to young students in natural history by his advice and assistance; feeling far more anxious to extend the sphere of science in his country than to increase his own fame. This generosity in bestowing upon others the results of his own industry, so highly characteristic of true genius and real love for science, might be referred, in part, to a sense of his own strength. He had reputation to spare, and could hardly avoid feeling aware that the inquirer who grew in science must inevitably form a higher estimation of the teacher of whose merits he thus became a better judge.

In May, 1817, the Journal of the Academy was commenced; and Mr. SAY continued, during the next ten years, to be one of its steadiest and most laborious contributors.

In the autumn of that year an expedition to Florida was organized, for the purpose of procuring objects of natural history. The party consisted of Messrs. Maclure, Ord, SAY, and Peale, who spent the winter in that country, and collected a large number of specimens, with descriptions of many of which they afterwards enriched the Journal. In 1819 and 1820 the celebrated expedition to the Rocky

Mountains took place, in which Mr. SAY took a part. His learning, his patient industry, and the confidence reposed in him by the officers of the detachment, are visible in every page of the narrative; and the very large portion which he contributed to the work is acknowledged by the editor. This embraces the whole of his favorite department, the invertebral animals, together with a great variety of additional subjects, to which, from circumstances of various kinds, it was convenient that Mr. SAY should direct his attention. In the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, &c., performed in 1823, at least equal labor, in proportion to the time employed, was bestowed by him upon the collection of materials, although a portion of the preparation for the press was saved him by his friend, W. H. Keating, Esq., the editor.

During the period of our narrative, compliments from abroad came thick upon him; on these, however, he set but a limited value, except where they were the means of extending or increasing a knowledge of natural history. His correspondence with distinguished foreign naturalists occupied a large portion of his time, although constantly confined to matters of science.

In the year 1825, on the foundation of the well-known settlement made by the suggestion of Mr. Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana, Mr. SAY removed to that place, at the request of his friend, William Maclure, Esq., for the purpose of assisting with others in the erection of a school of natural science. By the munificence of the distinguished individual last named, he enjoyed, in the wilds of the far west, all the advantages of a splendid library, abundant facilities for making collections, and a ready printing press. The scientific world is in possession of two volumes, the second and third of his splendid American Entomology, and six numbers of his Conchology; all which were among the fruits of his industry while at New Harmony. The volumes of the Entomology were published in Philadelphia, the others in Indiana.

It was while at New Harmony that Mr. SAY's domestic happiness was enhanced by his union with Miss Lucy W. Sistare, of New-York, a lady in every way qualified to add to the felicity of such a man. In addition to many elegant accomplishments, Miss Sistare possessed the advantage of a fondness for the same pursuits, and great readiness and neatness with the pencil—a talent which was employed to the advantage of the beautiful works of which we have just spoken.

Besides the elaborate description of a number of natural objects

collected at New Harmony, and also in Mexico during the tours in that country made by Mr. Maclure, Mr. SAY found himself, at this late period of life, again involved in the cares of business and the superintendence of property. Amid the chaos of mind which the settlement presented, Mr. Maclure felt the value and necessity of old and tried friendship, tested honor, and untiring industry, in the care of his vast estates. In none could he confide with more unhesitating promptitude than in the subject of our memoir; and he who in early youth had sacrificed his own property to the pursuit of science, was willing, in maturer age, to devote his talents to the care of that of his friend; thus proving, like the Ionian philosopher, that his neglect of pecuniary affairs had not arisen from want of ability, but from disinclination.

Amid these accumulating tasks and this honorable charge, the termination of his labors was now gradually approaching. The season was one of unusual mortality, and the ordinary and general causes of disease could only coöperate with the severe and devoted application of the naturalist. Mr. SAY'S habits of steady and protracted application, excessive abstinence and loss of sleep, had long before this period exerted an injurious influence upon his health, exhibiting their effects in repeated attacks of fever and dysentery; and when, in 1833, he paid a short visit to his friends in Philadelphia, for the conjoined objects of health and science, the ravages of disease were but too visible. Still, those who knew him were not conscious that it was then for the last time that he visited his native city or the walls of his beloved academy. After several renewals of disease, the same maladies returned with a highly nervous character; and finally, the 10th of October 1834, he sunk into the arms of death by an easy dissolution.

Thus perished, while yet in the vigor of his years, an individual on whom creative wisdom appeared to have stamped in the strongest manner the characters of a master mind in the study of the works of God.

The character of Mr. SAY was in every way singularly fitted for the task which he thus made the business of his life. He was gifted with a strong intellect, accurate powers of observation, vast assiduity, a freedom from those unsettled wanderings of the mind which are so frequently the bane of genius, and an enthusiastic attachment to the subject of his studies. In philosophy, he was an advocate for that doctrine which attached exclusive importance to the evidence of the senses. Fact alone was the object which he thought worthy of his researches. Such was the ardor of his perseverance, that for

a long period he actually lived at the Academy, sleeping within the walls, and only leaving the institution when necessary to obtain his meals. The hours of refreshment were forgotten, and sleep unhesitatingly sacrificed, not as an occasional exertion, but as a permanent and persevering habit. His extraordinary power of concentrating his industry had an effect in producing the peculiar style of his pieces. The manner of writing in which he most delighted, was that of the utmost abridgment of which the subject was capable, cutting off every unnecessary word. It was not that he was incapable of a fluent style, for various parts of his writings demonstrate the contrary, such as some of his contributions to the narrative of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains; but he seemed to think it an injustice to the reader and to science to detain them from knowledge with the smallest redundancy of language. At the same time this severe judge was far from criticising others with the same rigor which he exercised towards himself, and readily forgave the luxuriance of style in their works. His own manner, when he indulged in his beloved brevity, was certainly liable to the objection of difficulty to untutored readers; but still more, perhaps, to the risk of alarming students by its apparent obscurity, than to the reality, as the knowledge which was requisite was always actually present, though comprised in few words. It is unnecessary to add, that the naturalists are not a few to whom this abridged style is a recommendation.

The communications of Mr. SAY to natural science are numerous and of considerable bulk; and their number has probably surprised even some of his acquaintance. They are scattered through a variety of publications, not all devoted to natural history, and one of these even a newspaper; the student finds it impossible, without considerable exertion, to avoid overlooking some of them, and it is too much to be feared that individual memoirs are irrecoverably lost. No estimate of their value, and the labor necessary to produce them, can, however, be founded on their simple bulk; nor can they be compared to others upon such a principle. If we take into view the extreme labor which he uniformly bestowed upon his productions, first to insure their accuracy, and then to compress them within the smallest possible space, the amount of work executed by this indefatigable writer will appear very greatly augmented.

But it is not by the rules of arithmetic that the labors of Mr. SAY are to be judged in any respect. To form a just idea of the space in public utility occupied by him, it would be desirable, if possible, to

make an estimate of the vacuities which existed in American science, of the judgment which he formed of them, and of the success of his endeavors to fill them. This task we shall not attempt to execute. It was in the immense range of the invertebrals that Mr. SAY exhausted his labor.

And among these it may be said, as of a former writer, that he left scarce any department untouched, and none that he touched unimproved. His descriptions of species are most numerous among the annulose and the molluscous animals, although he also made investigations among the radiated, as appears from the list of his publications, and among the entozoary. It is not to be supposed that he exhausted any of these departments: the stores of nature within our country are too extensive, and much, doubtless, remains for future observers. Yet he described the large and laborious numbers which serve for the general materials of classification; he outlined the extended and accurate map, to which the task of making local additions is easy, but which forms the necessary and only guide to those who would make further admeasurements. It is not that there is no more gold in the mine; but in raising his own ore, Mr. SAY has constructed the shafts and galleries, pointed out the veins, and indicated by his example the best manner of working them. He laid down the broad masses of coloring, which, however they may be augmented and retouched by the persevering pencil of the future artist, must still form the basis, and in very numerous cases, the perfection of the picture. Every familiar object in these departments, that frequently met the eye, but produced a feeling of dissatisfaction because no description or place for it was to be found in the writers on natural history, received its character from his hands. His task was that of Adam, to name the animals as they passed before him.

His modesty at first induced him to attempt few and isolated species, and departments of small extent; and as time gave him experience of his powers, he ventured farther. A few scattered insects and shells, ascertained to be undescribed, with great labor and precaution first received their characters and names from him. Next he undertook the crustacea of the United States, which he described and classified. He then extended his labor to a larger number of shells, selecting those of the land and of the fresh waters. Next, after despatching several detached and limited groups, he entered among the vast masses of the Insect Kingdom. In this immense field he described a very large number of species, belonging to nearly all its departments. Perhaps, even here we may discover a new

illustration of the character of the man; and a dislike of show may not improbably have been among the reasons which induced him to postpone his attention to the brilliant and popular department of butterflies and moths. Our naturalist had now achieved so much of his task that he could afford to be desultory; and his pieces from this period assume a more diversified character. His share in the two expeditions by Major Long, is truly multifarious. Besides the departments which he considered peculiarly his own, it embraces, as we have already had occasion to observe, a very large amount of matter foreign to his ordinary habits of study, and requiring a different manner of composition. Some of the most interesting portions are those which describe the manners of the Indians. He is the historian of all the facts that were collected in those districts which he traversed with a small detachment of troops under his separate command; he obtained, although not professing philology, the vocabulary of the Killisteno language; and on the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, he made the whole of the botanical collections, which afterwards formed the basis of a memoir appended to the published narrative by the late Mr. De Schweinitz. In fossil zoology, his description of new species of the Crinoidea is considered highly valuable. Several other memoirs in this department, in which America until lately presented such a mass of unknown objects, will be found in the catalogue of his papers. Several of Mr. SAY'S papers appear, however elaborate, to have been at first but little known to naturalists; it appearing to have been his first object in many instances to procure a public record of his papers in print, so as to establish his claims to the date of his discoveries, while at the same time he obtained duplicates to transmit to his learned correspondents; leaving it to subsequent times to republish them, and thus secure their wider diffusion and more easy access.

His natural temper was one of the most amiable ever met with. The phrase was frequent in the mouths of his friends, that, "it was impossible to quarrel with him." His great respect for his parents, and his compliance with their wishes, have been already mentioned. He was repaid, notwithstanding his retired life and exclusive devotion to science, by a singular strength of attachment on the part of his friends; and we have already spoken of the confidence of Mr. Maclure. His modesty was so retiring, and the wish which he frequently expressed "to save trouble" to others so great, that to men in the habit of living much in the world they might perhaps appear incredible. The contrast of these with surrounding manners, was

occasionally so remarkable as almost to amount to eccentricity and a satire on the times.

It may be interesting to add, that he was tall and spare, but muscular, and apparently endowed, before his health was injured by repeated illness, with considerable strength. This enabled him better to struggle with the fatigues of toilsome journeys and the wasting inactivity of study. His complexion was dark, with black hair.

Mr. SAY will always be remembered by those who pursue the study of Zoology as one of the greatest American naturalists; while at the same time, his fame will be cherished in his native city as one of the most efficient founders and supporters of his favorite academy, and one of the individuals who have contributed most to diffuse a taste for these sciences among the American youth. Few men who have died at forty-seven years of age ever accomplished so much, especially on ground heretofore untrodden. The American "*Journal of Science and the Arts*," bore true witness when it said, "It is no exaggeration to assert, that he has done more to make known the Zoology of his country than any other man. All his contributions to scientific and other works evince the most sagacious discrimination and the most laborious industry. Philadelphia, the place of his birth, and Indiana, the State which witnessed his death, yet contain many who are ever ready to shed a tear to his honored memory."

Painted by James Herring

Engraved by J.F.E. Prud'homme

John W. Francis.

JOHN W. FRANCIS, M. D., LL. D.

PROFESSIONAL life, especially in young republican America, is often diversified; but the physician's is, perhaps, less frequently so than that of any of the members of the three liberal pursuits to which academic honors are awarded. Medical men, from the very nature of their studies, and the active cares in which they are involved in the subsequent discharge of their responsible trusts, necessarily pass their existence rather within the secluded chambers of the sick and afflicted, than before the gaze and immediate observation of the multitude. But, in defiance of this restriction, the cultivators of the venerable art of healing have been justly accounted among that class of individuals whose daily vocations lead to a substantial acquaintance with human nature, and the principles of human action; while their peculiar energies are ever directed to investigations, embracing a multitudinous variety of circumstances by which sound science is increased, and the lasting interests of society better secured. Knowledge, therefore, in the medical profession, serves not only to dignify its rank, but in the exercise of its powers becomes the agent of innumerable blessings to society; and is elevated equally by the importance of its ultimate object, and by those qualifying attainments which render their possessor the efficient instrument of its philanthropic designs.

There is, besides, in the history of physic, abundant evidence to show how much the advancement of man has been furthered by the professors of the healing art; how greatly the interests of humanity have been promoted by their efforts; how largely the charities of life, an elevated literature and exalted science have been aided by the broad foundations of public institutions, in which physicians have borne a prominent part. The annals of Continental and of British medicine demonstrate this truth; nor are examples wanting in our own country of similar establishments, generously cherished by this order of men. Hence, though the transactions of one day in the physician's career

seldom differ from those of another, the lives of eminent professors in the medical faculty become worthy of notice; they are the guardians of the public health, and they deserve to rank among public characters; and he, who possesses a deep and enthusiastic veneration for the art, and while, in the daily exercise of its salutary precepts fosters, the cause of learning and the general welfare of his species, merits, at our hands, some recorded testimonial of his actions.

Among the many living examples in the United States of those in that profession, who by their acquisitions adorn the science of physic; who, by the faithful and conscientious performance of its arduous duties, have conferred benefits of acknowledged importance upon humanity; and by the publication of the results of experience have added to the medical literature of their country, the respectable individual, whose name is at the head of this biographical sketch, occupies a conspicuous place.

Dr. John W. Francis, was born in the city of New-York on the 17th of November, 1789. His father, Melchior Francis, who came to this country shortly after the peace of 1783, was a German from Nuremberg, well known in New-York as an enterprizing, upright grocer, of an enthusiastic temperament, and of a liberal and charitable spirit, whose career of usefulness was suddenly arrested by death from yellow fever in 1795, in the 35th year of his age. His mother was a native of Pennsylvania; her family, of the name of Somer, were originally from Bern, in Switzerland from whom there are numerous descendants in this country, now residing in the above-named State. Her children were mere infants when her husband died; but she was left in circumstances sufficiently easy to give them a good education. John, the eldest, after receiving the common early instruction, was sent to a school of no little reputation under the charge of the Reverend George Strebeck, with whom he commenced the study of mathematics and the Latin language, and afterward continued his classical pursuits under the direction of the Reverend John Conroy, a profound scholar, and a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. By the aid of this excellent teacher he was enabled to enter an advanced class in Columbia College, where, in 1809, he received the degree of Bachelor, and in 1812 that of Master of Arts.

While an under-graduate, the subject of this memoir, having resolved to adopt the medical profession, devoted a portion of his time to its studies; he was enabled to accomplish this by a strong natural capacity, and by an ardor and perseverance which have marked his whole course of life; he had not only mental energy, but a vigorous con-

stitution, which sustained his intense application in the acquisition of knowledge.

In 1807, then still an under-graduate as above-mentioned, he commenced his professional studies with the late Dr. David Hosack, the able and eloquent teacher, at that time professor of Materia Medica and Botany in Columbia College, and among those most entensively engaged in the practice of physic in New-York. Under this eminent preceptor MR. FRANCIS had ample opportunities of witnessing the principles of the art illustrated by their practical application. During the period of his professional studies for four collegiate years, he never absented himself from a single lecture, nor attended one without making notes or abstracts on the subject taught by the lecturer. His clinical knowledge was also much increased by a constant attendance at the New-York Hospital, then enjoying the rich experience of Drs. Post, Kissam, Stringham, and others; and at the City Almshouse, an extensive charity, the medical department of which was under the management of Drs. Hosack and Macneven, the clinical instructors.

Several laws for the greater improvement of medical science were enacted about this period by the Legislature of the State of New-York. County Medical Societies had been formed the year before, and promised much advantage to the cause of professional learning. The College of Physicians and Surgeons, under the authority of the Regents of the University, was organized in 1807. From this institution, in 1811, MR. FRANCIS received the degree of M. D. This was at the first commencement of that school under the Presidency of Dr. Samuel Bard, and the subject of this memoir was the first graduate who recorded his name in the College Album. DR. FRANCIS's inaugural thesis was a dissertation on mercury, embracing its medical history, curative action, and abuse in disease. His researches were extensive, while many of his views were novel and profound, and have since been confirmed by the philosophical inquiries of British and other foreign practitioners. This production acquired for him great credit at once among his fellow graduates and the faculty generally; it has been repeatedly noticed by different writers in various languages, and maintains its reputation at the present day.

DR. FRANCIS had been in practice a few months only, when his late preceptor proposed to him a co-partnership in business. This proposition, from the high standing of Dr. Hosack, was too flattering to be declined. This connection lasted till 1820, since which time DR. FRANCIS has continued in practice by himself.

From the first organization of the College of Physicians and Sur-

geons, the professorial chairs were filled by men of acknowledged learning and ability most of whom were much distinguised as teachers.

In the spring of 1813 DR. FRANCIS received from the trustees of the institution the appointment of lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica. Shortly after this period, an union being effected between the rival institutions, the medical faculty of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he received from the regents the professorship of Materia Medica. He delivered his first public course of instruction to a class of one hundred and twenty students, declining all compensation for his services, that the consolidation of two schools of medicine, which had brought together so numerous a body of professors, might not too much enhance the price of education to those who wished to attend a full course of lectures. About this time he published a historical account of the College, with a syllabus or outline of the several courses of lectures. The students of this new school, upon its chartered establishment, had formed themselves into a medical society, similar to that at the University of Edinburgh, to improve their minds by weekly discussions on medical and surgical subjects. The President of the Society, which was termed the Medico-Chirurgical Society, was chosen from the professors of the College; and for many years DR. FRANCIS was elected to preside over it, succeeding in this appointment the learned Dr. Mitchill.

Strongly impressed with the conviction that the city of New-York possessed all the requisites for a great medical school, alive to the importance of an extended system of medical education, and cheered by the rising prospects of the institution to which he was attached, DR. FRANCIS resolved to visit Europe, having in view, as well to profit by the lessons of instruction afforded by the old world, as to transfer, as far as lay within his power, what was valuable and practicable to the new. While in London he became a pupil of the illustrious Abernethy, and witnessed the practice of St. Bartholomew's hospital; attended the lectures of Brande at the Royal Institution, those of Pearson at St. George's hospital, &c. Between Abernethy and FRANCIS there sprung up so strong an attachment, that the former offered the latter a share of his business, which at that time was oppressively extensive.

According to a memoir to which this biographical sketch is much indebted,* besides England, DR. FRANCIS visited Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and France.

With eager curiosity he examined most that was rare and promi-

* New England Magazine, vol. 7th.

nent in these countries. His letters gave him access to scholars and men of science wherever he travelled. In Edinburgh he shared the hospitality of the great professors, and visited their schools so renowned for practical wisdom. Here he listened to the eloquent and classical lectures on medicine of Dr. James Gregory, and the able expositions of Professor Jamieson on the Wernerian formations; and witnessed the early experiments of the philosophic Brewster, in his private study, on the polarization of light. In Dublin he was received with true Irish cordiality; and found in the anatomical preparations of McCartney, specimens which rival even those of John Hunter. Regarding his professional object as the most important one of his mission, he was obliged to resist the strong impulse which prompted him to pass beyond the Rhine; and most reluctantly turned his back upon the country, toward which, as the land of his fathers, he felt the dutiful yearnings of a son; and for which, as the birth-place of Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, he entertained the reverence of a scholar. In Holland, the anatomical theatre where Ruysch once taught, and the garden where Boerhaave once displayed the harmonies of the vegetable kingdom, awakened to recollection the glories which have long since departed. In France, with Denon, he viewed in his cabinet, and in those institutions under his care, all that was magnificent in the arts. Gall displayed to him the rich materials of his collections, on which he founded his system of craniology; while the "Jardin des Plantes," under the direction of M. Thouin, gave him new ardor for a knowledge of the wonders of creation. With Cuvier he examined the objects more intimately connected with his own profession.

We are not wanting in proofs of the enthusiasm and success with which the subject of this article prosecuted his European tour. It was such as to excite the notice of many of his most enlightened foreign acquaintances. One thus speaks: "I feel much gratified by the opportunity you afforded me of making the acquaintance of Dr. Francis. A mind more ardent in the pursuit of useful knowledge perhaps never existed; and I have no doubt he will, in a few years, stand at the head of his profession. I introduced him to my son-in-law, Dr Yeates, who is an able and learned physician; he entertains a high opinion of your friend's talents, and I am sure will at all times be happy in the opportunity of being useful to him."* Dr. Francis is warm in his admiration of those lights of knowledge he everywhere encountered in his travels; but though enamoured with the learned

* Letter of the late Patrick Colquhoun, author of the Police of London, &c. Life of Eddy, by S. L. Knapp.

men he met in different countries, his political affections were wedded to his own; and in the midst of his European attachments, he was still a republican in his principles.

On his return to New-York he found that some changes had been made in the disposition of the professorships in the College; the duties of the chair of Materia Medica had been added to that of Chemistry. He was at once appointed by the Regents of the University professor of the Institutes of Medicine. On the death of Dr. Stringham, in 1817, the department of Medical Jurisprudence, heretofore taught with applause by that gentleman, was assigned to DR. FRANCIS. Another change took place in 1819, by resignation, by which DR. FRANCIS became Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence. This appointment he held until 1826, when he resigned, at the same time with his colleagues, Drs. Hosack, Mott, Mcneven, and Mitchill; Dr. Post had given up the professorship of Anatomy a short time previously. The board of regents accepted the resignation of the faculty, and presented them their thanks "for the faithful and able manner in which they had filled their respective chairs as instructors and lecturers in said College."

During the same year in which the resignation of the professors of the College of Physicians and Surgeons occurred, a majority of them founded and organized a new institution at their individual expense, under the name of Rutgers' Medical College. In the place of Professor Post, Anatomy and Physiology was assigned to the late distinguished Dr. Godman, who, at the instance of Professor FRANCIS, left Philadelphia for a larger sphere of usefulness and profit. The success of this new school for four terms was triumphant, at the end of which period the legislative wisdom of the State thought proper to close the doors of the College. It is believed that every friend and patron of sound practical medicine now admits that the interests of medical learning sustained a severe loss by this measure.

In the Rutgers' Medical College DR. FRANCIS was chosen Professor of Obstetrics and Forensic Medicine. In the number of pupils, his classes were second only to those of Anatomy, which are always most fully attended in every well-arranged medical institution. The close relationship between many parts of the physiological portion of a course of instruction on Obstetrics, with numerous topics discussed in legal medicine, justified, on the part of the professor, repeated disquisitions of the most interesting nature; and these, by an ample museum, were made the more clear and satisfactory. In his third edition of the work of Dr. Denman, a large amount of medico-legal facts and opi-

nions is introduced; and in the same volume is embraced his history of the Obstetric art, from the time of the ancients to that of the latest writers on the subject, which has received the approbation both of the erudite and the practical. The number of students under his care while he was connected with the institutions above-named, was probably greater than that of any other professor in the city. He devoted from four to six hours a day to public and private instruction in the several departments of the science; other portions of time were devoted to the labor of practice. With the termination of all collegiate duties, he resolved to confine his attention to the practice of physic exclusively. In his parting address to his public class, he stated the causes which would thereafter dissolve the relationship of pupil and preceptor, paid the tribute of grateful respect to the magnanimous patrons by whom the College had been countenanced, and held up to admiration and example that guardian genius of all establishments for the diffusion of useful knowledge,—Dewitt Clinton.

Dr. Francis's early introduction to practice and teaching, however laborious and anxious the task, led not to the neglect of those intervals of leisure which occur in the lives of all. Convinced that the charms of medical reading, and the diffusion of medical and scientific knowledge, would both be promoted by the establishment of a new periodical journal in New-York, he, while a student, united with his preceptor, Dr. Hosack, and issued, in 1810, a prospectus for the American Medical and Philosophical Register. This work was published quarterly, and continued for four years. It was filled almost entirely with original materials. After the completion of the fourth volume, the editors assumed the responsibility of the work, and announced their names. In conjunction with the late Dr. Dyckman and Dr. Beck, he was for some time editor of the New-York Medical and Physical Journal, which was projected in 1822. He continued as one of the editors until the termination of the third volume. This work contains a number of his medical observations and records.

Dr. Francis has written papers, in many different medical and scientific journals in the United States, on subjects connected with his profession: among the most prominent of these, and of a practical nature, are his observations on the use of vitriolic emetics in croup, with details of cases in which this remedy was effective after the formation of the adventitious membrane lining the trachea. This novel method of cure has since often proved successful in other hands in this country, and has since been adopted abroad: remarks on the goitre as it prevails in the western parts of New-York and Canada;

cases of ovarian disease; on the medicinal properties of the sanguinaria Canadensis: history of a remarkable case of a diverticulum of the ilium: cases in morbid anatomy: facts and inferences in medical jurisprudence: on phlegmasia dolens occurring in the male subject; on caries of the lower jaw in children: on elaterium and croton oil: cases of icthyosis: observations on the mineral waters of Avon in Livingston County, New-York, deduced from chemical experiments and medicinal trials. His letter on febrile contagion, dated in London, 1816, and addressed to Dr. Hosack, contains an exposition of certain British writers, on the insusceptibility of the human constitution to a second attack of the yellow fever. This curious fact concerning the nature of this disease in certain latitudes, which was strongly maintained by various authors of Great Britain and the West Indies, received additional support, in many striking cases, from the observations which this letter brought to light, that had been made by many American physicians upon the pestilence in different seaports of the United States. Other papers might be referred to containing his clinical opinions; his reflections upon the nature and treatment of scarlet fever and other disorders may be found in the improved edition of Good's Study of Medicine edited by Dr. Doane.

State medicine, or that division of science which comprehends the principles of evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine, in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law, had been long and advantageously taught in German and other continental universities, when, in 1807, the chair of Medical Jurisprudence was founded at the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Duncan, Jun., appointed Professor. The following year Dr. Stringham, who had graduated at that school, gave a course of lectures, the first delivered in the United States, on the same subject, in the college at New-York. As his successor, Dr. Francis was among the earliest teachers in the United States of this important and now generally cultivated department of knowledge. But it was not merely as a teacher that he exhibited the extent of his inquiries and practical researches in forensic medicine, and enlisted the enthusiasm of the student. During the greater part of his professional career, in almost every case of criminal prosecution in our judicial courts, his opinions have been solicited, and have seldom or ever been the subject of doubt or controversy. Dr. Francis invariably availed himself of the deductions which anatomy and pathology afford.

Nor have either his studies or his writings been confined to subjects strictly professional. Several of his biographical notices are valuable

contributions to the stock of elegant and general literature: these sketches are drawn with a free and manly hand, with faithfulness and discrimination. Among the most valuable of them may be mentioned his account of Cadwallader Colden, one of the earliest practitioners of physic in New York; those of Edward Miller, Benjamin Rush, Archibald Bruce, James S. Stringham, Thomas Eddy. His record of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, is an honorable testimony to the memory of that remarkable man, whose genius and character will be more highly valued the longer his merits are contemplated. The occasional addresses of Dr. FRANCIS are written with taste and spirit united with candor and good feeling. His address to the New York Horticultural Society, in elegant language, portrays the beauties of nature adorned by art. The oration before the literary societies of Columbia College, in May, 1831, exhibits an important outline of the life and services of that distinguished patriot, the late Chancellor Livingston. The venerable President Madison transmitted a letter of approbation to the author, for the service he had rendered to American Biography, by his interesting account of the revolutionary patriot, which will be found in this volume. His discourse at the opening of the new hall of the Lyceum of Natural History, as yet but partially in print, is perhaps his most extensive production. It was delivered in December, 1836: its object is to recommend the cultivation of the natural sciences, and to bring together the most striking and important facts yet made known, concerning the natural history and physical resources of the new world.

The humane physician is perhaps more exposed than any other member of society to taxes on his time and benevolence: in seasons of pestilence and calamity, the claims of charity are not to be slighted or avoided. The later visitations of the yellow fever, and of the malignant cholera, bear witness to the sensibility of Dr. FRANCIS to the cause of humanity, and to his intrepid discharge of his duties. His clinical views of the new Asiatic plague, as it prevailed in New York in 1832, in which city it entombed upwards of four thousand inhabitants, are published in a letter to Dr. Reed of Savannah. This letter was so favorably received at that anxious period, that more than one hundred thousand copies, in various forms, were circulated in different sections of the Union. In France it excited the attention of professional men; and the authorities at Havana, when the cholera appeared there, had the pamphlet translated into the Spanish language, and widely diffused through the island of Cuba.

Dr. FRANCIS has been honored with membership in many humane,

literary, and scientific societies at home and abroad, and is in correspondence with several of their associates. In 1850, Trinity College conferred on Professor FRANCIS the degree of LL. D.

The sketch here given of Dr. FRANCIS exhibits a life more active than eventful, but evidently one that would have been far more eventful had it been less active. Engaged in the duties of a laborious profession, in a great city, at the early age of twenty, and soon after called upon to apply all his unexpended energies to sustain and advance the reputation of a newly-established medical school, and to assist in editing a medical journal, he could have found but little leisure for unbroken study, or the preparation of elaborate treatises on the art to which he is devoted. Untiring activity in his proper vocation, and scrupulous devotion to its claims, have characterized his whole professional career. The hope of being able to relieve his suffering fellow-beings has ever been sufficient to call forth every exertion, and every sacrifice in his power to make. The call of poverty has always been as loud in his ear, and has been answered with as much alacrity, as that of wealth. It is well known that his services and his contributions to the relief of distress, would together amount to sums surpassing the charities of many men of the largest means. There are many extraordinary traits in the character of the subject of this memoir, which have scarcely been touched upon from its necessary brevity; among them none more remarkable than the facility and fidelity with which he goes through his duties; the every day demands constantly develope in him an energy, a power of endurance, and a disregard to personal comfort, that are called forth in others only by great emergencies and trying occasions. The amount of labor performed by him is almost unexampled; he accomplishes more of every thing, and besides has more of social enjoyment, than most others. It is the same with his mind as with his body: no drafts upon it exhaust its power, its stock is always at command. The possessor of such a mind must naturally sigh for a release from the thraldom of professional toil, and the liberty to expatiate freely and widely in the regions of thought. If such a boon is ever earned by years of faithful service, and benevolent exertion in the cause of humanity, Dr. FRANCIS will not fail of obtaining it; and we know that he would ask for himself no higher reward, nor would we ask for him greater glory, or for science more honor, than he would confer upon her, could he be allowed to enjoy it.

This outline of a remarkably active professional career, gives but an inadequate view of the character of its subject. There is a great

similarity in the outward experience of the successful practitioner of medicine in a large metropolis; but the endowments of each individual, and the circumstances of life essentially modify his influence and usefulness. In the case of Dr. FRANCIS, a strong natural bias for literary pursuits, and an uncommon degree of public spirit, as well as sympathy with artists, authors, and men of science, have induced the exertion of his talents, and the devotion of his leisure in other spheres, than that of his special vocation. He presents one of the rare instances where this has been accomplished, without the slightest interference with regular duty. Blest with a vigorous constitution, great powers of endurance, and a singular facility both of thought and action, he has been enabled to achieve a wide range of reading in all the departments of learning and taste, and at the same time, to cultivate the intimacy of those whose lives are devoted to literature, science, and art. The effect of this two-fold culture is apparent, not only in the essential aid rendered by Dr. FRANCIS to the cause of social progress, by means of his cordial support, cheering sympathy, and intelligent coöperation,—but also, by many eloquent contributions to American letters. These consist, besides his medical writings, to which allusion has already been made, of addresses, biographical memoirs of distinguished characters, and personal reminiscences. In the latter department, Dr. FRANCIS is a proficient. His anecdotes of interesting personages have a remarkable significance: gleaned during many years of familiar acquaintance, caught up by quick and accurate observation, and preserved by a memory wonderfully retentive, they render his conversation admirable, suggestive, and memorable. In some few instances, as those of the old physicians of New York, Cooke and Kean, the celebrated actors—some of the original editors, naturalists, and artists, such as Freneau, Wilson, Jarvis, Fenimore Cooper, and distinguished Knickerbockers, like Pintard, Livingston, Fulton, and others. These attractive memorials have appeared in the journals of the day, or the occasional discourses of the author. One of the most characteristic and valuable of the latter was delivered on the anniversary of the New York Academy of Medicine, of which Dr. FRANCIS was the first president. No more able vindication of medicine as a science, or more powerful appeal to its votaries for its advancement and elevation, has ever appeared. It is rich, too, in historical illustration, and local anecdote, and has a rhetorical finish which amply sustains the literary reputation of its author. All this was admirably illustrated, too, in the profoundly interesting address he delivered at the New York Typographical Society Banquet, January 16, 1852; an occasion which his hearers will never

forget. In his social character, Dr. FRANCIS represents an almost obsolete class. He is emphatically a New Yorker in his feelings and associations. The frank hospitality of the early colonists is combined around his fireside with the discursive intercourse of the *savan*, and the patriotic sentiment of the citizen. In American history and biography he is an oracle; and has been an efficient member of all the institutions originated to advance the interests of literature and science in his native city. With enlarged benevolence, a mind unwearied in inquiry, constant association with men and books, and an ardent love of knowledge, as well as friendship for its promoters, Dr. FRANCIS finds time, even amidst the unceasing claims of an extensive practice, thus to identify his name with the progress of the age, and the literature of his country.

Painted by Col. J. Trumbull. Engraved by ...B. Durand.

MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

Nath.l Greene

NATHANAEL GREENE.

The important influence of the example of the American Revolution on the rights of man and the liberties of nations, is, as yet, but partially estimated. It is not, however, too much to say, that the working of our political institutions, for far more than half a century; the happy operation of religious freedom; the liberty of the press; the general diffusion of education; the skill and bravery of our chivalry on the field, and on the ocean; but above all, perhaps, the prosperity and happiness of our country, are now winning the admiration of the world. On the continent of Europe we have always been regarded with respect; but the unhappy consequences of the French revolutions have retarded the onward march of liberty, which must eventually triumph. Time, and that not far distant, will there unfold a series of revolutions, "a war of opinions," based on that which was fought and won for us at Bunker Hill, Yorktown, and the Eutaw Springs. A love of liberty is implanted in the bosom of man, and it will be seen, that, with feeble means, the will to attain it will prevail. For us it has been attained; and we shall now address ourselves to the task of sketching out the character and services of one of those, by whom the glorious work was accomplished. In the midst of prosperity, nations, like individuals, are apt to forget their benefactors; and republics have been proverbially ungrateful. It is incumbent on us to remove the stain.

Nathanael Greene, the fourth in descent from one of the early English settlers of New England, was born on the 27th of May, 1742, in Warwick, Rhode Island. His family were very respectable members of the society of Friends, among whom his father was a preacher. In the peaceful principles of that sect, Nathanael was instructed. His early years were passed in the attainment of the mere rudiments of an English education, and succeeded by variations of labor in the field, the mill, or at the anvil, as his age and strength increased. In his youth, he excelled most of his companions in strength and agility; and it is evident from what has been written

of him, that he enjoyed, with great delight, the amusements and pleasures of his companions. At the age of fourteen, he became acquainted with a lad from the university of Rhode Island, who opened to his view new objects of attention. From that time, books were eagerly sought for, and their contents devoured in the intervals of his work. The desire to obtain books stimulated him to extraordinary exertions at the forge, where the work was so heavy, as to produce a permanent lameness in one of his feet; but his object could be accomplished in no other way. Geography, travels, and history, were his delight; he made himself master of Euclid, and acquired a knowledge of Latin. When about seventeen, he attracted the notice of President Styles, of Yale college, at that time a resident of Newport, and formed an intimate acquaintance with Lindley Murray, who was also there on a visit. From those gentlemen he derived much valuable information, as to the choice of books and a proper course of study. When twenty years of age, he commenced the study of the law; not with an intention, like young Murray, of making it a profession, but to acquire a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence. When the celebrated stamp act began to agitate the country, the ardent mind of GREENE was immediately interested in the subject; and, after deliberate reflection on the principle involved, he came to the firm resolution of supporting the cause of his country, if necessary, by an open resistance.

In the year 1770, he was elected a member of the legislature of his native state, to which, from that time, until he was called to the command of the southern army, he was uniformly reëlected. There, the mass of information which he had accumulated by many years of study, gave him an influence, and he became a leading and popular member. When the states, in 1773, began to organize their militia, his attention was, as in former instances, turned to the subject, and he began a new and corresponding course of studies. Military books now engrossed his attention, until he had studied the histories of all the ancient and modern wars within his reach. For this, he was dismissed from the society of Friends; yet, he ever after regarded the sect with deep respect. In July, 1774, he married Catharine Littlefield, an intelligent and engaging lady; but his public duties left him little time for the enjoyment of domestic bliss. He had now laid aside the plain dress of his early associates, and had become a member of the "Kentish Guards," a military company, composed of the most respectable young men of the county. In the ranks of this corps he continued, until after the battle of Lexington; when the

state of Rhode Island embodied three regiments of militia, and placed them under the command of Brigadier General NATHANAEL GREENE, who conducted them to Cambridge. Here he gained the confidence and friendship of Washington, which he retained through life. He was commissioned as a brigadier general in the continental army on the 22d June, 1775, and, as a major general, on the 9th August, 1776. He accompanied the army to New York, and had command of the troops on Long Island; but when the disastrous battle was fought at Flatbush, the army was deprived of his services, by a sickness, which reduced him nearly to the grave. When the commander-in-chief found himself obliged to retreat across New Jersey, General GREENE was his constant and firm supporter. At that period of the war, a train of misfortunes had spread despondency and gloom over the country; yet the confidence and cheerfulness of General GREENE never forsook him, and the spirits of the troops were cheered by his example, though in want of almost every necessary.

On the night of the 25th December, 1776, General GREENE crossed the Delaware, in command of the left wing of the army, which, in the surprise of Trenton, seized the artillery of the enemy, and cut off their retreat to Princeton. He was constantly with the army, during that trying winter, and shared its hardships and its glories. He was present at the battles of Brandywine, in August, and of Germantown, in October, 1777. Such was the distressed situation of the American army through the winter of that year, that Washington was doubtful of his ability to take the field the ensuing season. Every exertion was made to put the army in a condition for the campaign, and General GREENE was pressed to accept the appointment of quarter-master-general. The office was accepted with great reluctance, for his inclination was, to serve in the line; and the charge and distribution of the public money was of all things disagreeable. The necessities of the army, however, and the strong expression of Washington, that "some one must make the sacrifice," at last induced him to consent; but not until the condition was acceded, that, he should not lose his right to command in action. Of this he availed himself at the battle of Monmouth, and on the retreat from Rhode Island.

The duties of his new station were arduous and embarrassing, but were rendered more so, by the unhappy factions which divided the councils of the country. Notwithstanding the distress and poverty which threatened ruin to the cause, intrigue and slander were in active operation, to undermine the reputation and character of the men, who were devoting themselves to accomplish the almost hopeless

work. Washington himself was assailed; and GREENE, who was supposed to have been his favorite officer and confidential adviser, was made an object of suspicion. It appears strange to us, at this time, that calumny could have had the effect of injuring the reputation of such a man, under the circumstances in which he was placed. Constantly with the army, and under the eye of the commander-in-chief; often without a dollar at command, and made desperate by witnessing the distresses of the brave men who had been his companions in arms through years of toil and suffering. "Hard is the lot of a man in public life, where the expenditure of money constitutes a part of his duty." The purity and integrity of General GREENE's character bore him above the storm, congress did him justice, and his personal friends never faltered in the discharge of their duty towards him. In August, 1780, he resigned the office, a poorer man than when he entered upon it.

After the fall of Charleston and the captivity of General Lincoln, the war in that quarter required the presence of a commander, on whose talents the army and the inhabitants might rely. The high reputation which General Gates had acquired by the capture of Burgoyne's army, obtained for him the command of the southern department. His arrival in North Carolina revived the hopes of the patriots, and he very soon collected an army of about four thousand men. He at once prepared to drive the British force from their line of posts across the state of South Carolina, and to carry the war to the gates of Charleston. But near Camden he was met by an army under Lord Cornwallis, and suffered an overwhelming defeat. The consequences were awful. Lord Cornwallis considered himself a conqueror in full possession, and adopted a course of proscriptive measures, which finally recoiled upon himself. He hung several respectable men at Camden, and he seized a number of the most influential and patriotic of the prisoners on parole, whom he transported to St. Augustine: he then prepared to overrun that part of Carolina which had not been devastated; and his progress was marked by rapine, conflagrations, and blood. The lion-hearted patriots of Carolina were again roused to the defence of their lives, their families, and their homes. From that time, there was no neutrality; and the horrors of a regular warfare were heightened, by all the ruthless accompaniments of party fury, malignity, and revenge. General GREENE was appointed to supersede Gates, on the 14th of October, 1780; and four days after, he sat out from West Point for his command.

On arriving at Charlotte, on the second of December, he found the southern army a mere skeleton, without artillery, baggage, or stores. In a letter to La Fayette, he says, "Were you to arrive, you would find a few ragged, half starved troops in the wilderness, destitute of every thing necessary for the comfort or convenience o soldiers." In his front was an enemy, flushed with victory and well provided; around him, an exhausted country; and the inhabitants divided into hostile parties, "plundering each other with little less than savage fury." Money, he had none; for he had been furnished with only sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey. But he had around him a number of active, spirited, and devoted officers, on whose exertions he could depend, and the *promise* of reinforcements from the states through which he had passed on his route.

Cautiously he adapted his operations to his means. The prudent policy of Washington, and the precipitate imprudence of Gates, were both before him. His first care was to remove to a place, where subsistence and the means of transportation could be obtained. Cornwallis was at Winnsborough, and Leslie was advancing with a powerful reinforcement towards Camden. The only mode of carrying on the war was, to cut up these forces in detail, by sudden assaults on their detachments; by enticing them into the interior; and by striking at the posts, and keeping up an alarm on every side, until the American commander should find himself in sufficient force to face his antagonist. General GREENE, with the main body, marched to the Cheraw hills on the Pee Dee; and detached General Morgan to the west of the Catawba, to act on the left of Cornwallis, to collect provisions and forage, and annoy the enemy as circumstances would permit. This movement alarmed the British commander for some of his posts, and he despatched Colonel Tarleton, with a force, to destroy him, which was, itself, annihilated at the Cowpens. Galled at this unexpected result, Cornwallis hastened to cut off Morgan's retreat with his prisoners, and to prevent him uniting with the main body. Foiled in the attempt, he vigorously pursued GREENE, who was moving in a direction to unite with Morgan.

This is the commencement of the celebrated retreat from South Carolina, across the state of North Carolina, into Virginia, which has won for the American commander a high rank, in the estimation of military men. With the force of Morgan united to his own, he was unable to meet the foe. Cornwallis sought to force him to an action, and he was as resolutely determined to avoid one. Having taken the precaution to secure the passage of the Dan, the American army

crossed that river in safety, and were secure. Here General GREENE had expected to find reinforcements, and to have been able to turn on his pursuers; but not a man was there.

Cornwallis saw the dangers of his situation; so sure had he been of crushing the Americans, that he had destroyed his baggage to accelerate his movements; his force was diminishing by death and desertion, while that of his wary adversary he knew must increase, for the states of North Carolina and Virginia were collecting recruits, and the cry "to arms" was universal. He accordingly retired to Hillsborough, to collect the royalists in that vicinity, by liberal offers of gold and land; in this he succeeded for some time, but suddenly they began to diminish. The partisan whigs were hovering around in force, cutting off the advancing parties; and the rapid concentration of volunteers, had enabled GREENE to resume offensive operations, and throw himself between Cornwallis and the upper country. The noble earl now found himself surrounded by timid friends and inveterate enemies; his stores decreasing, and the country wasted by the loyal followers of his army; and it was evident, that whenever his adversary pleased, there must be a trial at arms. The activity and vigilance of GREENE's light troops kept him constantly informed of every movement of the British forces, and enabled him to rest and refresh his troops against the day of action, which he determined to draw on whenever his reinforcements should arrive, being confident, that if he could not ruin his adversary, he could at least cripple him severely. According to this determination, the battle of Guilford Court-house was fought on the 15th March, 1781. The result of that engagement was, that the British remained masters of the field, but with the loss of six hundred men. Victory at such a price was defeat to Cornwallis, who retreated, and left his wounded to the benevolence of his enemy. In a few days, General GREENE found himself in a condition to pursue; he left the wounded of both armies behind, in the care of a congregation of Friends, and followed with great vigor, until finding it impossible to overtake the foe, he halted at Ramsay's Mill to refresh his troops, and Cornwallis pushed forward towards Wilmington. When GREENE was satisfied of the onward course of the British army, he took the resolution to march directly into South Carolina, to revive the spirit of the people, to destroy the line of posts between Charleston and Camden, to live on the spoils of the enemy, and, if possible, induce Lord Cornwallis to return for their protection. But that commander, after a fruitless endeavor to divert GREENE's attention, took

a contrary course to Petersburg; Colonel Lee, with his legion, and a small corps of infantry, were detached to form a junction with Marion, on the Santee; while GREENE, with the main body, moved off to Camden, and, on the 20th of April, took post at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile and a half from the British redoubts. On the morning of the 25th, whilst the American soldiers were preparing their breakfast, Lord Rawdon attempted a surprise, by passing through a swamp to the left of the encampment. But in this he was disappointed. The pickets received him promptly, and retired deliberately and in good order, disputing the ground bravely. In the mean time, the American army was formed in order of battle, and every disposition was made before the enemy appeared. The battle commenced with vigor, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. But the Americans were obliged to abandon the field, and Rawdon immediately returned to Camden, which he soon after evacuated, and retired to Charleston. Orangeburgh, Fort Motte, Granby, and several other posts, were captured by American detachments; whilst the commander carried on the siege of Ninety-Six, a strongly fortified post. But before it could be reduced, Rawdon had received reinforcements, which enabled him to raise the siege, and GREENE was compelled to fall back on North Carolina, with the enemy in full pursuit. It was discouraging to be thus made the sport of fortune, but the firmness and decision of the general's character sustained him through the trial; for being at this time advised to abandon South Carolina, he replied, "I will recover the country, or perish in the attempt." Lord Rawdon soon perceived that pursuit was vain; that while he was removing from all support, GREENE was falling back on his magazines and reinforcements, and leading him towards the very route, over which he had before led Cornwallis; and, being already short of provisions, he returned to Ninety-Six, and from thence to Charleston, taking with him all the loyalist families in that district of country. General GREENE then retired to the high hills of Santee, to indulge his army in a short repose during the heat of the summer.

Near the end of August, he again sought the enemy, and met him in battle, at the Eutaw Springs, on the 8th of September. This battle was described by the American commander, as the most obstinate and bloody he had ever seen. The militia, with a firmness "which would have graced the veterans of the great king of Prussia," advanced with shouts into the hottest of the enemy's fire; but one part of the line faltering for a moment, the British, elated at the prospect, sprang forward to improve that moment, but at the same time deranged

their own line. General GREENE, who was watching for such an incident, "ordered the second line to advance, and sweep the field with their bayonets." The order was promptly obeyed, and the enemy were driven from the ground, through their camp in the rear. But their pursuers were diverted by the spoils of the tents, and became irretrievably confused; in the mean time, the enemy rallied, and under cover of the fire from a large party who had taken possession of a brick house, recovered their camp. Had it not been for the temptation, so unexpectedly thrown open, the British forces must have surrendered; as it was, their power in South Carolina was prostrated, for in this action they lost upwards of one thousand men. This was the last of General GREENE's battles. The enemy abandoned the whole of South Carolina, except Charleston and its vicinity, and the American army retired to their former encampment, until after the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The soldiers, left for a time to repose, the mind of the commander was meditating on the future. He had been induced to expect, that the French fleet, with a part of the land forces on board, would pass from the Chesapeake to Charleston, to coöperate with him in the recovery of the three most southern states. Disappointed in that aid, he still was bent on the expulsion of the foe from North Carolina and Georgia, if not from their strong hold in Charleston. Although the spirit of enterprise was high in the American army, there were presented few opportunities for adventure. We cannot recount the minor affairs, but will pass to events of another character, and view the conduct of General GREENE under other circumstances. It was discovered, that a part of his army had entered into correspondence with the British, and had agreed to deliver him up; but the ringleader was detected, convicted, and shot, and twelve of his associates deserted. Had their plan succeeded, the southern army would have been dissolved; for it was the commander's personal influence alone which held it together: he was the idol and pride of his soldiers; and it is to their honor, that amongst the conspirators, not one native American was implicated. Much as the army had suffered, their commander had felt no less; and the only instance of impatience we have found in all his correspondence, is about this time, when he had to witness the sufferings of his soldiers, without the power to relieve them. While engaged in the duties of the field, the southern army had endured privations and hardships almost beyond belief; but we have it from undoubted authority, that a large proportion of that army, at times, were literally, "as naked as they were born;" that the loins of

many of the brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes; and that their shoulders were protected from chaffing, only by a piece of rag or a tuft of moss. Can we be surprised then, that, when left to repose, they should think over their sufferings, and expect, at least, to be noticed by the country they had saved? Yet, so it was, they for a time appeared to be forgotten, and they murmured; and the mind of the commander was burdened by the most painful anxieties. Symptoms of mutiny made their appearance in the Maryland line, but they were preceded by a pathetic address to their general. They asked his attention to their thinned ranks, reduced from a brigade to the number of two hundred; but he had not the means to relieve them. *His army at this time had received no pay in two years; was nearly naked; often short of meat and bread; and the sick and wounded perishing for want of medicines and proper food.*

When discontent existed among the officers of the legion, on the appointment of Colonel Laurens, and they all tendered their resignations, complaining of partiality and injustice, he reminded them of their right to appeal to congress, but their reply was petulant and haughty; and the general, after giving them a private hint of his intention, accepted their commissions. This was unexpected; they found that their attachment to him was such, that they could not leave him in the face of the enemy; and they availed themselves of his suggestion, to refer their complaint to congress, and returned quietly to their posts. Thus the general had not only conquered the enemy, but had overcome the demon of discord in his own army.

Except for the purpose of procuring provisions from the surrounding country, the enemy lay inactive in Charleston. With all their force, they had been unable to keep possession of the country; and with their diminished means it would have been folly to renew the strife. They therefore prepared to evacuate the city, having agreed with the American commander to leave it uninjured, and to be permitted to depart unmolested. Accordingly, on the 14th December, 1782, the American army entered the city as the British rear departed from it. To the citizens of Charleston, it was a day of joy and congratulation. Upwards of two years, they had been under the arbitrary restrictions of an enemy's garrison; cut off from all intercourse with their friends, and ignorant of their fate; now they beheld them returning, the liberators of their country. Solemn thanks were offered to THE ALMIGHTY in places of public worship, and the whole city presented a scene of festivity. The object of regard to

every eye, and of praise from every tongue, from the governor of the state to the humblest citizen, GREENE alone appeared to be uncon scious of having himself merited distinction, while he deeply felt the attentions, which were liberally bestowed on his gallant army.

The difficulty of supplying rations for the army after this period, for a time, threatened serious consequences, but by the commander becoming responsible himself, as an endorser for the contractor, the evil was removed; but the transaction was the cause of much subsequent embarrassment to himself, and to his family after his decease.

Peace was at length restored,—the army was disbanded, and General GREENE returned to his native state.

In every place, through which he passed on his journey home, he was received with enthusiasm and expressions of gratitude and admiration. On his arrival at Princeton, where the congress was then in session, that body resolved to present him with two pieces of ordnance, taken from the British army, "as a public testimony of the wisdom, fortitude, and military skill, which distinguished his command in the southern department." They had previously voted him a British standard and a gold medal, commemorative of the battle of Eutaw. The state of Georgia presented him with a beautiful and highly improved plantation, a few miles from Savannah; and South Carolina conveyed to him a valuable body of land. This he was obliged to part with, to free himself from the pecuniary obligations before referred to; and to the former he removed with his family in the fall of 1785, when he commenced the cultivation of his land, and the education of his children. But this period of repose and domestic pleasure was brief; for being attacked by inflammation of the brain on the 12th, his mortal career was closed on the 19th of June, 1786.

Thus have we sketched the life of one of the most conspicuous men of the American revolution; and whether we view it, as illustrative of what may be accomplished by the native energy of genius, or as an example of deep, pure, devoted, patriotism, it is equally entitled to our regard. Through it, we can trace the same invincible spirit, in the humble, industrious, youthful Quaker, as in the heroic firmness of the illustrious warrior. In the former, it was incited by a thirst for knowledge, which never abated; and in the latter, by a determination to deliver his country when overrun by hostile armies. The influence of his early moral discipline should not be overlooked, for it gave a peculiar hue of modesty and virtue, patience and benevolence, to his subsequent actions; which, like the pearly tints of a picture, at once harmonize and beautify the whole.

engraved by T.B. Longacre from a [illegible] by J.W. Jarvis

MAJOR GENERAL

Edmund Pendleton Gaines

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES.

Edmund Pendleton Gaines, the third son of James Gaines, was born on the 20th of March, 1777, near the eastern base of the blue ridge, in the county of Culpepper, Virginia. His father was married while very young to Miss White, who died a year after the marriage, leaving one daughter. He afterwards married Elizabeth Strother, by whom he had four daughters and two sons elder, and three daughters and one son younger than Edmund. His father served in the latter part of the revolutionary war at the head of a company of volunteers; and was soon after chosen a member of the legislature of North Carolina, to the northwest border of which state he had moved with his family at the close of the war. He was afterwards elected a member of the convention of that state to which the federal constitution was submitted, and by which it was rejected. If upon the final vote of rejection the name of James Gaines stands recorded in favor of that measure, his objections were entirely removed by the adoption of the "*Bill of Rights;*" and he lived to see its excellence demonstrated by a trial of forty-two years duration. He witnessed the progress and issue of this trial with a steadfast belief that the federal constitution, so amended, and taken in connexion with the constitution of the several states of the union, embraced the most perfect, as well as the most powerful, system of government known to man. James Gaines was the nephew of Edmund Pendleton, a profound lawyer, and for many years the presiding judge of the court of appeals of the state of Virginia, and a statesman whose services were most prominent in the cause which produced a Washington, and has enrolled the names of Henry, Jefferson, Madison, Randolph, Lee, and Mason, among the most distinguished in the annals of American history.

To an early association with such an individual, and to the affectionate solicitude and guardian care of a highly gifted mother, are to be imputed the stern integrity and devoted sense of duty which

always distinguished the subject of this memoir. Upon the memory of his mother his heart always rested with an abiding love, and to her care and prudence he delighted to acknowledge himself mainly indebted for the principles which sustained and strengthened him amid the try-ing and perilous scenes of his eventful life.

Born in a frontier settlement, and during a state of civil war, hi earliest recollections were painfully connected with deeds of blood and rapine. A main object of maternal care was manifested in an anxious zeal to merge the baleful influences in a recital of the triumphs of her countrymen in the great cause of civil liberty, and of the brilliant consequences that were to flow to her children and posterity from such pressing and impending calamities. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the subsequent career of her favorite son should be devoted to the profession of arms; and less, that that career should be distinguished not more on the field of battle, than by a loyal devotion to the constitution and the laws of his country, both as a soldier and a private citizen.

At the close of the war of independence, his father's estate consisted of a plantation of a few hundred acres, and that but indifferently stocked: of money, like the rest of his neighbors, he had none, except in the form of the old valueless continental bills.

Under these circumstances of poverty, in which all classes were at the time more or less involved, it will not be matter of surprise that the early education of our hero should be limited to the acquirement of such attainments as he could occasionally find time to receive at the neighboring county school.

The greater portion of his youth was necessarily devoted to labor. His daily toils were, however, amply compensated by the reflection that the burden of the farm was lessened to the advancing years of his father, and that the declining days of his mother were comforted and consoled by every act of filial duty.

In the subsequent toils of his professional career, he more than once had reason to congratulate himself on the habits acquired in following the plough and in wielding the axe. His heart was early imbued with the pleasures which result from the performance of duties, and his body hardened by healthful and vigorous exercise. To an early friend, whom he often delighted to name, one Ralph Mitchell, he was indebted for the attainment of so much of the elements of the mathematics as to become an accurate surveyor.

He had now attained his thirteenth year.

About this time his father removed his family to Sullivan county, which afterwards became the eastern county of Tennessee. His new residence brought him into the immediate vicinity of the depredations so frequently committed at that time by the Cherokee and Creek Indians, with whom we were at war, and so continued to be for several years after his father's removal to Tennessee.

Our hero's thoughts became now actually turned to the profession of arms, and he employed all his leisure hours in the perusal of books of history and such military works as chance or his father's early associates afforded him. At the age of fourteen his rifle became his constant companion, and in his wilderness or mountain excursions, he soon acquired such skill in the management of this formidable arm, as to excel most of his young associates who vied with him in the use of it.

When about eighteen years of age, he was elected lieutenant of a rifle company of volunteers, commanded by captain J. Cloud. In the twenty-first year of his age, he commenced, as far as the most limited means would permit him, the study of the law. About this time he was recommended by his distinguished friend, the Honorable W. C. C. Claiborne, then in congress, for an appointment in the army, and on the 10th of January, 1799, he was appointed an ensign.

In the fall of 1799, he received notice that he was attached to the sixth United States regiment, and was ordered on duty in the recruiting service, having been, in the interim, promoted to a second lieutenancy. In the following year the sixth regiment was disbanded. Lieutenant Gaines was soon after attached to the fourth, then commanded by Colonel Thomas Butler.

In the summer of 1801, the colonel was instructed to select the subaltern of his regiment best qualified for making a topographical survey from Nashville to Natchez, for the location of a military road. He appointed Lieutenant Gaines. In the performance of this duty, and in the survey of some Indian boundary lines near the Choctaw nation, he was engaged until the winter of 1803—4.

In the year 1804, when it was found that Spain had refused to withdraw her troops from the military posts of Mobile and Baton Rouge, and to deliver up the country lying between the island of Orleans, the Iberville, the river Mississippi, and the Perdido, as a part of Louisiana, the president of the United States, not considering

the country prepared for war, determined to appoint a military collector of the customs for the district of Mobile. For this office, GAINES, who had in 1802 been promoted to a first lieutenancy, was selected. He accepted the office in the confident expectation that his position at Fort Stoddert, thirty-six miles north of the town of Mobile, where he was stationed, would insure to him, sooner or later, the honor of taking possession of the disputed territory.

In the year 1806, our military collector of the customs, in addition to the duties hitherto assigned to him, was honored with the appointment of postmaster, and that of agent to the postmaster-general, with authority to suspend certain postmasters and mail contractors, whose delinquencies were in anywise attributable to the influence of persons then known to be engaged in what was termed the *Burr war*. As commandant of Fort Stoddert, GAINES was authorized to employ such of the United States troops as he should deem necessary and proper to afford protection to the persons employed as inspectors of the revenue, as well as those employed in carrying the mail between the city of New Orleans and Athens, Georgia; the principal part of the intervening country, near six hundred miles, being at that time a wilderness.

While in the discharge of the various and complicated duties of the civil and military trusts confided to him, it became his duty, in obedience to the proclamation of the president, to arrest Colonel Burr, and to send him under a mounted guard, in charge of Major Nicholas Perkins, who volunteered his services for that purpose, to Virginia for trial. Of the propriety of this act Captain GAINES never for a moment entertained a doubt.

It is a fact, however, not to be concealed, that, notwithstanding the arrest and confinement of Colonel Burr was a duty, and a duty performed in a spirit of as great delicacy and forbearance as was consistent with the perfect security of his person; and notwithstanding he was confided to the care of Major Perkins, than whom a more humane, honorable man could not have been found; yet from the time of his arrival in Richmond, Captain GAINES found arrayed against him an influence which he always in vain endeavored to account for.

The president, on being advised through the department of war that Burr had been arrested by Captain GAINES, authorized the appointment of marshal to be added to his various other civil appointments, with authority to notify his veteran commander, General

Wilkinson, with such other public officers and others at New Orleans acquainted with the projects of Burr, to attend his trial. With these officers the acting marshal embarked in a United States vessel of war in May, 1807, at New Orleans, and arrived at Old Point Comfort early in June, a few days previous to the attack on the frigate Chesapeake.

In the course of this trial, which immediately followed, Captain GAINES had reason to put in practice the principles of forbearance which he had early prescribed to himself. The counsel of Burr deemed it expedient to animadvert with much harshness, not only on the arrest of his client, but likewise on the conduct of the officer who made the arrest. The captain, satisfied with the good and faithful service he had rendered his country, was neither moved by these animadversions, nor for a moment thrown off the manly propriety of his deportment.

History will not hesitate to say, that whatever may have been the designs of Colonel Burr, they were at once frustrated by his prompt arrest and speedy conveyance to a proper place of trial. To Captain GAINES she will award the full merit of this act.

Our hero had now attained the thirtieth year of his age; he had thus far laboured through what may be considered the apprenticeship of his profession; he had acquired full confidence in his capability to serve his country in either a civil or a military capacity, and believed himself equal to any command in the army the government might see fit to confide to him.

Shortly after the trial of Colonel Burr, he determined to retire from the army, and engage in the profession of the law. The execution of this resolution was, however, for a while suspended, in consequence of the increased probability of a war with England. The chances of this event were soon, however, rendered nearly hopeless by the turn of public affairs. In this state of suspense, GAINES at length decided upon asking for a leave of absence.

This was promptly granted to him by his commanding general, Wade Hampton, with the understanding that if the prospect of war should subside within a year, he should be permitted to resign; otherwise, that he would remain in service. In this interval he commenced the practice of the law in the counties of Washington and Baldwin, Mississippi territory.

Scarcely had he completed his second circuit, under auspices of the most flattering character, when the alternative under which he

stood pledged to his general, occurred. The nation determined to maintain her rights. War was declared against Great Britain, and Captain GAINES joyfully resumed his sword, with a firm determination never again to abandon it so long as his country should need his services.

In the war which followed, he soon became distinguished among the most steadfast in the faithful performance of every arduous duty. The post of greatest danger was to him the post of honor. There he was always to be found, distinguished alike by the fertility of his resources, the imperturbable coolness of his courage, and the amiable simplicity of his manners. The details of his services are too voluminous for the limited space allowed in this memoir.

It must suffice to state, that after being on duty in the north-western division of the army, he was, subsequently to the battle of the Thames in Upper Canada, engaged in the operations on the northern frontier; where on various occasion his conduct as an officer received the highest commendation. In the action at Chrystler's Field, he was particularly distinguished; and at the memorable and brilliant defence of Fort Erie, in August, 1814, (at which post he commanded in chief, and was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell,) his bravery and skill were most conspicuous; nor was he ever wanting in magnanimity or humanity.

In the midst of the sanguinary conflicts in which he was then engaged, his conduct as a soldier won the admiration even of the enemy to whom he was opposed, and against whom he was then in arms on the field of battle. The credit acquired by General GAINES and his regiment was unsurpassed by that of any others of our corps or commanders in that engagement.

In the course of the war, GAINES received the several successive, rapid promotions, of lieutenant-colonel, colonel, adjutant-general, brigadier-general, and major-general; the last being the highest rank authorized by law, and conferred in a form the most acceptable to the soldier, inasmuch as it was "*a war brevet*," expressly stating the fact that *it was conferred on him in consequence of his gallant and meritorious conduct in battle.* The federal government also honored him and the officers and men of his command, with a unanimous vote of thanks, and authorized the president to provide and present to him a gold medal, five States of the Union also offered him their thanks, whilst the three great and patriotic states of New York, Virginia, and Tennessee, awarded to him unanimous resolutions of thanks, with a fine gold-hilted sword which he received from each of these states.

From this period General GAINES continued to serve his country with skill and assiduity, giving full proof that his honors had not led him to indulge in inglorious repose. He was engaged in the Creek war, and afterwards commanded in the southern military district until the reduction of the army in 1821, when he was retained as a Brigadier, and the western division assigned to him. During the Sauk (Indian) and Seminole wars, the General was engaged, endured great personal danger and hardships, but manifested the bravery and skill which usually distinguished his career.

Perhaps little more need be said of the active life of the General. Although he repeatedly applied for employment in the field of the Mexican war, we believe he was never actively engaged in it. It is said that the reason given at head quarters was, that he was, "too old for field service;" but in the opinion of some of his friends another reason might be found in the fact, that he did not conceal his disapprobation of the system adopted by government in carrying on that war—a system which, in common with many other military men, he regarded as weak and dilatory, though ultimately rendered successful by the imbecility of our adversaries.

To a plan of defence projected in 1839, by General GAINES, for this country, his friends point with pride. It was his opinion that the recent application of steam to the propulsion of ships of war, had in a great measure destroyed the utility of the old system of fortification for the defence of harbors; inasmuch as it would in most cases enable the attacking party to pass in a few minutes beyond the guns of any ordinary fortress. He therefore earnestly recommended the substitution of movable floating batteries for the forts now in use, and strenuously advocated the immediate construction of railroads, as a means of concentrating force indispensable to the national defence. The correctness of these views has not yet been tested by experience; but as it is generally admitted that the discovery referred to, has wrought a great improvement in the means of attack, it seems reasonable to suppose that the modes of defence must undergo a corresponding revolution. We leave the question to those to whom it belongs, merely calling attention to this matter, as illustrative of General GAINES' earnest thought as to the exigences of his profession, and of his ardent desire to apply the results of his observation for the public benefit. Certainly the system seems to bind the States together in almost indissoluble bonds, with its great arteries of communication equally applicable and valuable for purposes of war and peace, putting the whole country in a perfect state of defence.

The last office sustained by General GAINES was that of commander of the eastern division, with his head quarters at New York, which city he left for the south only during the winter preceding his death. That event occurred at New Orleans, June 6, 1849, at the age of 72 years. He was a man of extreme simplicity and transparency of character, of the most unquestionable integrity, and of unwearied zeal in the welfare of his country. His history presents a fine example of the gradation of an American soldier maturing his mind and character for the position of a DIVISION commander. We refer to it as exhibiting a capacity, morally and mentally, that can be excelled by few. While the history of our wars proves that no one has exhibited more valor upon the field of battle, or more unceasing efforts for the safety of the country, than EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES,—the records of peace show that no citizen soldier has manifested a greater degree of ardor in the cause of the nation's defence.

NATIONAL PORTRAITS.

The last office [illegible]

Engraved by J.B. Longacre from a miniature by A. Duval

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE

William C. C. Claiborne

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

On the 20th December, 1803, the beautiful, rich, and extensive region of Louisiana, having been ceded to the United States by France, was formally surrendered to the republic. The American commissioner on this occasion was invested with the title and powers of intendant and governor-general of the province, as exercised under the former French and Spanish dominion. To him was conferred almost unbounded authority; upon him rested the delicate task of reconciling to a new dominion, and organizing into a new government, a people long inured to forms and usages entirely different. Though yet but in the spring of life, no man could have exercised the former with greater mildness and moderation, none could have performed the latter with more judgment and ability. When he came, followed by a gallant band of Americans, to unfurl the banner of his country over its new territories, all were pleased with the blandness of his manners and the beauty of his person; all were astonished to see so young a man invested with so high a trust: but the subsequent virtue and wisdom of his measures during a long and tempestuous administration of thirteen years, excited the love and admiration of all, and have left in the memory of his coun trymen of Louisiana a monument more lasting than the marble which they have consecrated to his virtues. The American who in this high station thus did honor to himself, and to the judgment of the distinguished statesman who appointed him, was William Charles Cole Claiborne, the subject of the present memoir.

Governor Claiborne was born in Virginia, of a family who had been settled in that state for nearly two hundred years. When the revolution broke out, it is believed that without an exception his family took the side of the people against arbitrary government, and continued their efforts, in common with their countrymen, until the glorious result of the contest. The subject of our sketch was at the close of the revo-

lution a mere child, and hence could not have been an actor in it; but he soon learned to appreciate the magnitude of the task our fathers had accomplished, and the perils through which it was achieved. His own father had shared its toils, and it was the custom of the old gentleman, in his retreat, to recount to his children the exploits of the American soldiers, the hardships they had encountered, the battles they had fought, and the victories won. All was painted in glowing colors, even to the horrors of the prison-ships, and the brutality of the British soldiery, who were often guilty of horrible atrocities. Endowed with some learning, a fine imagination, and an eloquence bold and expressive, he thus early impressed on the minds of his sons an invincible attachment to free government; a determination, when necessary, to lift their arms in its defence; and an abhorrence for whoever would raise a parricidal hand upon the fair fabric of American liberty. Mr. Claiborne, however, could leave no inheritance to his children, but education and this warm patriotism which he so early inspired; youthful indiscretions in part, but principally an honorable zeal in the service of his country, had dispersed the wealth which he had inherited from his fathers. Thus the principles of WILLIAM, the second of his four sons, may be said to have been fixed when he was yet only eight years of age; they were then, what they remained through life, eminently republican. At that early age he excited the admiration of Mr. Eldridge Harris, the worthy president of the Richmond academy, when he saw this motto which his scholar WILLIAM had written in his Latin grammar, "Cara patria, carior libertas; ubi est libertas, ibi est mea patria."

Young CLAIBORNE having spent a short time at the college of William and Mary, which he left on account of improper conduct of one of the ushers towards him, returned to the Richmond academy, and there acquired a thorough knowledge of his own, with the Latin and Greek languages, and the most important branches of the mathematics. While at school, he learned with great facility, and was universally esteemed and beloved by his professors and fellow students. At the age of fifteen, he was apprized that for his future establishment in life he had to depend entirely upon his own exertions; he determined, therefore, on his course, and carried it into immediate execution. He told his father he knew very well he could do nothing more for his children than educate them; that he had resolved on his course, and with his permission would enter upon it forthwith. "I," said he, "have some acquaintance with Mr. Beckley, clerk to congress; I will go to New York, and endeavor to get employment in his office: if I succeed,

my fortune is secured; if I fail with him, my education will recommend me elsewhere, and in as thriving a place as New York, I can surely do something to support me. All I ask is a small addition to my stock of clothes, and my passage paid to New York." The manly firmness with which he addressed these words to his father, the confidence which they implied in his abilities, virtue, and energy, excited the old man's admiration; he gazed with rapture on his enterprising son, and the plan was acceded to. Being now fixed in his resolution, Mr. CLAIBORNE left school, having first delivered a valedictory address to the professors and students. Previous to the delivery of this address, he had submitted it to the inspection of a learned judge, whose corrections he solicited; the next day it was returned with one or two immaterial alterations, and a note from the judge, which told his young friend "to continue moral and industrious, and he would become useful and celebrated; his path, with the blessings of Providence, would be strewed with roses, and lighted by the sun of true glory."

Thus encouraged, and fortified by a moral and solid education, with a mind embellished with stores of Grecian and Roman literature, with manners urbane, a tall and manly form, and a face uncommonly beautiful, Mr. CLAIBORNE, not yet sixteen years of age, bade farewell to his family, and took his departure from Richmond in a sloop bound to New York. He was kindly received by Mr. Beckley, who gave him immediate employment in his office. The business which devolved on him, consisted in copying bills and resolutions of congress, and drawing original bills for members and committees of that body. These duties giving occupation to only half of his time, a portion of each day was devoted to reading political works of merit, attending to the debates of congress, and learning the French language. His evenings were almost invariably consecrated to the ladies, to whose society he was devoted through life. To Mr. Beckley he gave entire satisfaction, and subsequently repaid all the favors he had received at his hands. Congress soon removed to Philadelphia, and hither Mr. CLAIBORNE went. Soon after his arrival in that city, he became acquainted with Vice President Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state. By both these gentlemen, he was treated with great kindness: he afterwards proved his gratitude to both. Hitherto, Mr. CLAIBORNE had not fixed on any profession on which to depend for his future establishment in life; he had thought of the navy, the army: his dreams were sometimes golden, and he had even hoped to rise in the ranks of diplomacy. The bar had not yet presented itself to his mind in a tempting light; inconsiderable circumstances, however, have some-

times a decisive influence on the destiny of man; Mr. C. had for some time been a member of a polemic society, at which were discussed such questions as from time to time agitated the public mind. At last a question was proposed for discussion which Mr. C. had deeply reflected on; he determined, therefore, to enter the lists, and try himself at a public speech. He had now entered his eighteenth year; we have told the reader that his person was fine, his pronunciation was also distinct, accurate, and well-disciplined, and his tones of voice admirably adapted to public disputation: to these advantages he superadded, without being himself conscious of it, that grace of gesture which generally belongs to youth, beauty, and innocence. The success of the effort he made on this occasion was surprising; it elicited from a crowded audience reiterated bursts of approbation, and an enlightened member of congress who was present, declared "it shivered to atoms the arguments of his opponents, and bore off the uncontested prize of superior eloquence." The success of this effort gave an additional stimulus to his rising hopes, and he determined to enter on the practice of the law.

It should have been mentioned that Mr. CLAIBORNE had become intimately acquainted with General John Sevier, then a delegate in congress from the territory, and afterwards governor of the state of Tennessee. A friendship grew up between them which continued unimpaired during their lives, and of all the benefactors Mr. CLAIBORNE met with in the beginning of his career, there was none like this distinguished man, in the number and greatness of his favors. General Sevier had frequently advised Mr. C. to settle in the territory south-west of the Ohio; he stated the opening then was there for a lawyer, augured that his success would be great, and tendered his assistance and friendship. These flattering assurances determined his young friend. He accordingly gave Mr. Beckley notice that he intended to leave him as soon as another clerk could be procured, and in a short time took an affectionate leave of this good friend to repair to Richmond, where he remained three months. "During this stay in Richmond," says his brother, the Hon. Nathaniel Claiborne, "he was devoted almost entirely to the society of the ladies, and I have heard him repeatedly say, he had in that time been enabled to read only through the revised code, and a few chapters in the first volume of Blackstone's Commentaries. With this *dispreparation*, as he humorously called it, he was an applicant for a license, and, strange as it may seem, he passed with great credit, as I have been assured by a gentleman who was examined and licensed at the same time. This my

brother attributed to the polemic society in Philadelphia, which he considered at the time one of the best law schools in the union. Here he had acquired that general and enlarged view of natural, national, and municipal law, without labor and without expense, which years of study could not have afforded."

The object in getting a license in Virginia, was to enable him the more readily to obtain admittance to the territorial bar; without license in another state, a probationary residence was required. And now bidding adieu to the scenes of his youth, and the charms of large cities, he directed his steps to Sullivan county in the now state of Tennessee, and entered on the practice of the law. He continued at the bar, however, only two years, and his success in this short period was equal to that of any lawyer who ever went before him. No cause of moment and expectation occurred in a court where he practised, in which he was not employed. He was frequently sent for to the neighboring court in Virginia; and he commenced his career by receiving a fee of five hundred dollars, with his expenses paid, for coming to Virginia to defend a man on a charge of murder. At another time, he went two hundred miles to argue a case, in the decision of which was involved property to an immense amount, on the promise of a fee so large, that Mr. C. refused to receive it, although the cause was gained, and took only an elegant horse in lieu thereof. Instead of devoting, as heretofore, much of his time to gay amusements, he was now occupied with his books, and had already raised himself to the first rank in his profession; as an advocate in a criminal case, it is said he stood unrivalled. Juries have been often dissolved in tears, and enlightened tribunals have been deeply moved by his touching eloquence. He now determined to move back to Richmond, and enter on the practice of the law there. "My brother," says Mr. Nathaniel Claiborne, "had a quickness of comprehension, a goodness of heart, and a laudable ambition to be distinguished, in a degree we rarely meet with; but unfortunately he was constitutionally lazy, and when we see him marching with giant strides to eminence in his profession, we are constrained to acknowledge that he was urged on by the joint influence of virtuous ambition and hard necessity. He was attached to Virginia, and had left it with regret. The very trees that had shaded him from the summer heat were to him objects of veneration; these, were the beautiful seats of his early ancestors: they have long since passed into other hands, but the everlasting marble records the names of the first proprietors. There he had received his earliest instruction, and enjoyed the society of friends who loved him. The determination of

my brother to return was heard by the family with enthusiastic plea sure, and as the pressure on him for exertion would be greater, those who knew the powers of his mind were convinced that he must succeed."

An occurrence now took place which caused the resolution to remove to Richmond to be abandoned. The population of the territory having been ascertained to amount to seventy-five thousand, they demanded admission into the union, and a convention was called to form a state constitution. Mr. CLAIBORNE was proposed and elected one of the five members for Sullivan county.

In the convention which soon after assembled, he appeared to great advantage. It was an enlightened body, and the constitution that issued from their hands is based upon the truest principles of liberty; in the formation of this constitution, WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE had a principal agency. The education he had received, the books he had read, the political circles he had frequented, all conspired to give him an imposing stand. He now stood for the first time before a whole state, and the goodness of his heart and the magnitude of the object, united to bring into action all the powers of his mind. His merit was universally acknowledged. Governor Blount declared, that making the necessary allowance for his youth, he was the most extraordinary man he had met with, and that if he lived to attain the age of fifty, nothing but prejudice could prevent his becoming one of the most distinguished political characters in America. In the convention of Ten nessee, he began his political career, and without intermission he was thereafter in public life. General Sevier was elected governor of the new state of Tennessee, and among his first acts was the appointment of Mr. CLAIBORNE as a judge of the supreme court of law and equity of the state. Mr. CLAIBORNE was urged by his friends not to accept; but in vain. "My motto," said he, "is honor and not money; Governor Sevier is my friend, and if I can, I am bound to aid his administration." At the time of his appointment to a judgeship, and that too in the highest tribunal in the state, he was not *twenty-two* years of age. He continued but a short time in this office, when a vacancy occurring in the house of representatives of the United States, at the solicitation of several gentlemen who had served with him in the convention, he resigned his seat on the bench and became a candidate for congress. He was elected by an immense majority over his opponent, who was a man of talent, of great wealth, and extensive connections. A few days after his election to congress, Mr. CLAIBORNE entered his twenty-third year. This astonishing and rapid promotion becomes still more

surprising, when we consider that he had but recently come into the district, that he was poor, and had not the advantage of any kindred blood, even in the most remote degree, in the state of Tennessee. During the first congress that Mr. CLAIBORNE sat in, he participated little in debate, but enough to show that he was an acquisition to the republican party. On the bill providing for the military establishment, however, the talents of the house were brought out, and the strength of parties put to trial. On this occasion, Mr. CLAIBORNE delivered his sentiments; his speech was adorned with the choicest flowers of ancient and modern literature; it showed a heart deeply convinced, and earnestly engaged in convincing others; and if it discovered on its face less labor than other speeches bespoke, it was exempt from the venom which conflicting political prejudices had on this occasion developed: and the spirit of benevolence which it breathed, with the classic purity of the style, recommended it to general attention. A listener thus described it: "It seemed to be a spontaneous effort, the object was to persuade and convince, not to surprise; it had passion and feeling in every sentence, but it was the passion of the heart; satisfied he was right, he was bent on the conviction of others. So earnest was Mr. C., that he forced himself on the affection of the most indifferent, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of his friends: though he was zealous, it was without bustle; he was ardent, but not acrimonious; and if he fell short of some of the veterans who preceded him, you were loath to make the admission, while you reflected that he was the youngest man who had ever appeared on the floor of congress."

The constitution had not required that the electors should designate on their tickets the person they voted for as president, and the one voted for as vice president, but simply that they should give their votes for two persons; that the one having the highest number of votes should be president, and the one having the next highest should be vice president. Now it so happened, that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr had an equal number of votes, and it devolved on the house of representatives to decide which of them should be president, the choice to be made by ballot, and each state in the union to have but one vote. The contest was extremely animated, for on this occasion the great federal and republican parties came into violent conflict. It was clear that Jefferson had been voted for as president, and Burr, vice president; they had been so nominated before the election, and in every vote given for the two, Jefferson was first named; when, therefore, it was understood that they were returned with an equal number of votes to the house of representatives, it was supposed of course that the public

voice would be obeyed, and Jefferson made president. The federal party, however, determined to support Colonel Burr; they knew very well the political sentiments of every member of the house of representatives, and they early ascertained that the election depended on the vote of Mr. CLAIBORNE, the sole representative from the state of Tennessee. Mr. C., who, on this occasion had been reëlected to congress, was young and aspiring; the federal party knew, too, that he was poor. They flattered themselves that his vote might be secured, and indirectly proffered various temptations to obtain it. But Mr. CLAIBORNE was too firm to be brought over: he knew the public voice, and thought it honorable and proper to obey it. The day at last arrived, when this great question of the presidency was to be decided, and the states were equally divided on the first ballot; several other ballots took place, and the result was the same, when the house adjourned. The news spread through the union like fire, and everywhere produced the liveliest sensation. The importance of Mr. CLAIBORNE'S vote was so well understood, that he went armed to the house; for what might occur from the extraordinary excitement that prevailed, no one could foresee: rumors were even afloat that the parties in the country were beginning to arm.

For several days, congress, and the country around, were a scene of terrible confusion: thirty-six ballots had been had, and the result was the same; an equality of votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr. On every ballot, Mr. CLAIBORNE had voted for Jefferson, and declared that as he felt satisfied that that gentleman was the choice of the people, he was determined to adhere to him, let the consequences be what they would. On the thirty-seventh ballot, the state of Vermont, that had hitherto voted for Colonel Burr, threw in a blank ballot, and Jefferson was elected. Mr. C. did what he considered his duty with a determined mind, and to his vote was owing, in a great measure, the result of this important contest.

Mr. CLAIBORNE remained but a short time after this in congress. A serious misunderstanding having arisen between the people of the Mississippi territory and their then governor, many distinguished individuals of that country signified a wish for the appointment of Mr. C. as their governor, and, in conformity therewith, he received and accepted an appointment to that office in 1801, from President Jefferson.

Mr. CLAIBORNE proceeded to his new government with all possible despatch. He reached the beautiful hills of Natchez on the 23d of November, where he was received with enthusiasm, and he immediately entered with zeal upon the duties of his charge.

On his arrival, he had found the infant community over which he was to preside torn by local dissensions and personal animosities; by these different factions he was hailed with gladness, each hoping to make him the instrument of separate views or private vengeance; but he repelled all such attempts with firmness, though mildly, and taking sides with none, he made it his duty to hear all parties: to sooth and conciliate all, but to act for himself, with independence, impartiality, and justice.

Mr. CLAIBORNE had lately married Miss Eliza Lewis, of Nashville. She was tall and graceful, with perfect symmetry of feature, and her wealthy and indulgent parents had early procured for her those advantages of education that add new charms to the female character. Thus blessed with the affections of an amiable wife, in possession of an independent fortune, and without an enemy on earth, Mr. C. spent two years most happily as governor of the Mississippi territory; and how far he enjoyed the love and confidence of the people during this period, may be seen by the following address, which he received after he had repaired to New Orleans, on a mission of still higher importance.

"*To His Excellency* WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE, *governor of the Mississippi territory, exercising the powers of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana:*

"The exertions of a public officer to confer happiness on the community by dispensing equal and impartial justice, and preserving unimpaired the constitutional liberties of the people, deserve the return of grateful acknowledgments. The citizens of Washington and its vicinity, therefore, pray your excellency to accept their undivided approbation of the firm and dignified measures of your late administration in this territory. If integrity of conduct, united to an enlightened mind filled with benevolence and universal philanthropy, are worthy of eulogium, *all* that those virtues merit we offer you as a just tribute.

"We congratulate your excellency on the unanimity and harmony with which the American government is received by our new fellow-citizens of Louisiana; this great and interesting event cannot fail to exhibit 'the fairest page in the volume of faithful history;' and the high characters who so ably managed the negotiation, from its commencement to the ever memorable surrender on the 20th day of December last, will share the warmest affection of the American people.

"On this auspicious occasion, we reflect with honest pride and exultation, that in discharging the highest trust and confidence reposed in your excellency by the president of the United States, nothing has appeared repugnant to the principles of inflexible justice, mingled with humanity. We earnestly desire the return of your excellency to the Mississippi territory. We anticipate no change by which we can gain either a better friend, or a more patriotic governor; but should the general government require your aid in another quarter, we tender you this pledge of undissembled friendship, and a sincere wish that you may ever continue to merit and obtain the confidence of your country."

In this conspicuous station, the highest in the gift of the general government, and to discharge which required judgment, prudence, and ability, far beyond the lot of ordinary men, Mr. CLAIBORNE had a diffi

cult and perplexing task to perform. He had found the province of Louisiana in some parts almost fallen into anarchy, and throughout the administration every thing to reform or reorganize. Government had scarcely a nerve not wounded by corruption, and the business in every department was wrapped in mystery and intrigue, and had been left in confusion often inexplicable. Under the last Spanish governor, not only many posts of honor and profit in his gift were sold, but even when exercising the sacred character of a judge, he often vended his decisions to the highest bidder. Such being the character of the head, it is not surprising that the same depravities pervaded every branch of the system. The Louisianians, however, were a well-disposed and generous people; the greater part gave a cheerful and sincere welcome to the American government and its new institutions; but generally their defect of education, which had been the policy of their former rulers, their ignorance of the English language, and especially of political affairs, rendered them credulous, and often liable to become dupes to the machinations of individuals, who for their own ends are ever busy in exciting discontent in the public mind.

Thus Governor CLAIBORNE soon had to contend against the most unprincipled intrigues and factions, directed principally by some of his own ambitious countrymen, who had emigrated to the new territory, and who, envious of his authority and high station, used every means to thwart his administration, and to destroy him in the eyes of the people and of his government. So violent were these attacks, that the governor was brought to the field, to defend his character against the calumnies of a Mr. Daniel Clarke, who, by his wealth, his ambition, and his talent for intrigue, had acquired some influence in the country. He was severely wounded on this occasion, and confined a long time to his bed; but he sustained himself in his station, and persisted in his honorable course. He made it his especial care to protect and encourage the people he had been sent to govern; he used every means in his power to conciliate them to their American countrymen, and to spread among them the blessings of education, and of that political information, which alone could enable them to govern themselves, and to use and appreciate properly the great privileges of freemen, which they were to enjoy. He became sincerely attached to these his adopted countrymen; and from the purity of his character, the mildness of his official and private conduct, and the benevolence that beamed from his noble countenance, no man was better calculated to have reconciled and attached this new and foreign people to the government he represented. The Louisianians often proved their attachment to him, and

when they were admitted into the union as an independent state in 1812, they sanctioned the choice of the general government, by electing him governor, by their own free, and almost unanimous voice.

Mr. CLAIBORNE, however, during this period had met with many private misfortunes. During the first summer in which he had been exposed to that climate so baneful to strangers, he had nearly succumbed himself to an attack of the yellow fever; his lady fell a victim to that fatal disease, his infant daughter accompanied her mother, and his brother-in-law young Lewis, who had followed him to Louisiana, fell in a duel. All three had expired on the same day, and were consigned to the same tomb. When time had allayed the grief of this great calamity, Mr. C. subsequently married Miss Clarissa Duralde, a young creole lady of great beauty and mental qualities, whom he had the misfortune to lose also, two years after marriage. His situation rendering the position of a single life in some measure unbecoming, he again married, in 1812, Miss Bosque, an accomplished lady of Spanish extraction, who survived him.

In 1814 and '15, during the memorable invasion of that state by the English, Mr. CLAIBORNE was still in the executive chair of Louisiana, and had been active and highly instrumental in preparing the military defence of the country, and giving to General Jackson, previous to his arrival on that station, all the necessary information relative thereto. He, however, voluntarily surrendered to the general, when he arrived, the command of the militia of his state, and consented himself to receive his orders; a measure which he thought a just tribute to the military experience of General Jackson, and which he adopted, also, to avoid to his state all the expenses of the equipment and movements of her militia, which would have fallen upon her alone had he kept the command. Thus, to his great regret, it was not the fortune of Governor CLAIBORNE to have participated personally in the glorious contest of the 8th of January. He was marching rapidly, to join in the action of the 23d of December, at the head of a select corps of Louisiana militia, eager to meet the enemy, when he received orders from General Jackson to turn back immediately, and repair with his troops to Gentilly, to occupy the important pass of Chef-Menteur, where it was feared that the English had made a diversion; he obeyed, and reluctantly directed his march to that station, which he fortified, and remained in that command during the whole contest, which terminated in the memorable battle of New Orleans. Previous to this, an occurrence had taken place, which may be worthy here of insertion. All have heard of the adventurer Lafitte, whose piratical character was some

what extenuated by many traits of valor and generosity, and against whose depredations in our southern seas, the efforts of Governor CLAIBORNE and of the general government had been long directed, with but little success. The British commander of the naval expedition against Louisiana, aware of the intrepidity of this buccaneer, and of his perfect topographical knowledge of this region, when he approached the waters of the Mississippi, addressed a letter to Lafitte, offering a large sum of money, and a captaincy in the British navy, for his aid and counsel to the invading expedition. Lafitte rejected with contempt these offers; to prove his sincerity, he immediately sent the letter of the British commander to Governor CLAIBORNE, by a confidential agent, and tendered his services with those of his band to the American government, provided all criminal prosecutions against them by the United States should be suspended. The governor immediately accepted the proposal, upon consultation with the proper authorities. Lafitte and his determined band were admitted into our ranks, and subsequently rendered the most efficient services at the head of our artillery; we need not say that they obtained the pardon which their conduct merited.

In 1817, on the expiration of his term as governor of the state, Mr. CLAIBORNE was elected to represent Louisiana in the senate of the United States; but fate had here decreed a premature end to his career: he died in New Orleans, of a liver complaint, on the 23d of November, 1817, and in the forty-second year of his age. All ranks attended his remains to the grave with undissembled grief. The municipal authorities on the same day decreed a public mourning, and appropriated a sum of money to erect a marble monument to his memory.

Thus guided by the firm integrity, the virtue, and the sincere and warm devotion to his country, which particularly distinguished him, Governor CLAIBORNE had sustained his character throughout his event ful administration, as a pure and devoted, an able, dignified, and virtuous chief magistrate. It was his lot to have been at the helm of the important post of Louisiana during all the critical periods of our early collisions with Spain upon our southern frontiers, of the Burr conspir acy, and of the invasion of Louisiana by a British army. In all these circumstances, he remained the able agent, and the faithful sentinel of his country upon the outskirts of the union. No man had ever enjoyed greater honors at so early an age: seldom has virtue been rewarded by a more rapid and brilliant career.

Engraved by T.B. Welch from a Painting by J. Wood in possession of F.S. Key Esq.r

John Randolph

JOHN RANDOLPH.

The interest excited by the first appearance in public life of John Randolph continued until he had passed away from among the living, and did not die with him. His aboriginal descent, extraordinary eloquence, and independent but eccentric course through life, seemed to unite in securing to every thing he said or did, an attention on the part of his countrymen, which has been given to but few of the great American family. He was born on the 2d of June, 1773, at Matoax, the seat of his father, three miles above Petersburg, in the state of Virginia. His English ancestors were from Yorkshire, and he was descended, through his paternal grandmother Jane Bolling, in a direct line from the celebrated Pocahontas. Like Sir Walter Scott, and other celebrated men, he appears, from his own account, prepared in 1813 for a nephew who was desirous to "know something of his life," to have received a very irregular education. He was sent to a country school at an early age, where he learned the rudiments of the Latin language, and had mastered the Greek grammar *perfectly*, when the state of his health induced his mother to send him to Bermuda, where he remained more than a year, losing all his Greek, but reading with great avidity many of the best English authors. After his return to the United States, he was sent, with his brother Theodorick, to Princeton college, where they entered the grammar school in March, 1787. He there attracted the attention of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, the president of the college, who thought that he found, in the Indian descent of his pupil, some support to a theory, which he gave to the world in an Essay more remarkable for its ingenuity than its accurate statement of facts. In the year 1788, after the death of his mother, he was sent to college in New York, but returned to Virginia in the summer of 1790; and in the autumn of that year came to Philadelphia, with the view of studying law under the direction of Edmund Randolph, then recently appointed attorney-general of the United States. Beyond *almost* the first book of Blackstone, he seems to have done nothing

towards being admitted to the bar; and from that time till June, 1794, when he became of age, he appears to have led an irregular, desultory life, with scarcely a fixed residence, and no decided object of pursuit.

His reading, according to his own account given to a relative at a later period of his life, is so indicative of the man that any attempt to portray him would be defective without it. "I think you have never read Chaucer. Indeed, I have sometimes blamed myself for not cultivating your imagination when you were young. It is a dangerous quality, however, for the possessor. But if from my life were to be taken the pleasure derived from that faculty, very little would remain. Shakspeare and Milton, and Chaucer and Spencer, and Plutarch, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and Don Quixote, and Gil Blas, and Tom Jones, and Gulliver, and Robinson Crusoe, 'and the tale of Troy divine,' have made up more than half my worldly enjoyment. To these ought to be added Ovid's Metamorphoses, Ariosto, Dryden, Beaumont and Fletcher, Southern, Otway, Pope's Rape and Eloisa, Addison, Young, Thomson, Gay, Goldsmith, Gray, Collins, Sheridan, Cowper, Byron, Æsop, La Fontaine, Voltaire's Charles XII, Mahomet and Zaire, Rousseau's Julie, Schiller, Madame de Stael—but above all, Burke. One of the first books I ever read was Voltaire's Charles XII; about the same time, 1780—1, I read the Spectator, and used to steal away to the closet containing them. The letters from his correspondents were my favorites. I read Humphry Clinker also, that is Win's and Tabby's letters, with great delight; for I could spell at that age pretty correctly. Reynard the Fox, came next, I think; then Tales of the Genii and Arabian Nights. This last, and Shakspeare, were my idols. I had read them, with Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Pope's Homer, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Tom Jones, Orlando Furioso, and Thomson's Seasons, before I was eleven years of age; also Goldsmith's Roman History, 2 vols. 8vo., and an old history of Braddock's War. At about eleven, (1784—5,) Percy's Reliques and Chaucer became great favorites, and Chatterton and Rowley. I then read Young and Gay, &c. Goldsmith I never saw till 1787."*

In 1799, he made his first appearance in public life as a candidate for a seat in congress, and was elected. He owed his success

* Letters to Dudley, p. 190.

to his eloquence alone; for he possessed neither family influence nor connexion in the district, and was a mere boy in appearance. The all-absorbing political questions arising out of Mr Madison's celebrated Virginia Resolutions of 1798, of which Mr RANDOLPH was a strenuous supporter, were then deeply agitating the country. Patrick Henry, accused of having abandoned his early principles, appeared at the same time, and for the last time in his life, as a candidate for the assembly, avowedly in opposition to the resolutions; for he approved of the alien and sedition laws as good measures. This state of affairs brought these two remarkable men before the people in mutual opposition; and tradition has handed down to us an anecdote characteristic of both. Mr. RANDOLPH was addressing the people in answer to Colonel Henry, when a countryman said to the latter, "Come, colonel, let us go—it is not worth while to listen to *that boy*." "Stay, my friend," replied the veteran statesman, "there is an old man's head on that boy's shoulders."

Mr. RANDOLPH found the party whose measures he supported in the minority when he entered congress. His fearless course, ready, sarcastic wit, and general power as a public speaker, soon placed him among the most distinguished of the opponents of the administration then in power, and attracted the attention and admiration of the party against which they were exerted, as well as of that of which he soon became the leader. The records of his exertions are widely spread and scanty, and he pronounced most of the sketches of his speeches to be inaccurate.* No collection of American speeches, however, has been deemed complete without some of them; and, imperfectly as they have come to us, the impress of genius is upon them all.

With the party which supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. RANDOLPH, after a time, found himself in the majority, and he was for several sessions chairman of the committee of ways and means. It has been suggested, that *with* the majority his efforts were less propitious to his reputation than those which arose from the excitement of opposition; that business habits and discipline of mind were wanting; and that the position of assailant best suited his peculiar disposition, and was his true element. In 1806, he

* "The least inaccurate sketches of my speeches will be found in the 'Spirit of '76,' but they are extremely imperfect."—*Letters to Dudley*, p. 116.

joined the opposition, and is said to have declared that his own opposition to the then administration would be "perpetual." The journals indeed, of the house, from the period we have mentioned, exhibit him in the character of its industrious assailant; and the warfare which he carried on against it, in the shape of calls for information, in relation to the well known allegations against General Wilkinson, will be long remembered.

About this period of his life a change came over him, the cause of which even his friends could not understand; he became moody, morose, capricious, suspicious of his friends, sarcastic and bitter towards those he loved best, and a riddle to all around him. This state of things was explained at last, in 1811, by a paroxysm of insanity, attributable to the ill health to which he had been subject almost from the time he arrived at manhood, and of which he seems to have had some lurking consciousness himself.* Of this malady he had frequent returns during his lifetime;† but upon political subjects his mind was clear; and many of his constituents seemed to think of him as the Mohammedans do of madmen, that on such subjects, at least, he was inspired, and they might commit their interests to his charge with safety. It will not be difficult to account, after what has been just stated, for the numerous instances of eccentricity which were made known to the world through every medium, and were used as materials for every sort of attack upon his principles and person.

On the 27th of February, 1808, Mr. RANDOLPH united with his friend Joseph Clay, and fifteen other members of congress, in a protest against the nomination of Mr. Madison for the presidency. This proceeding, which may be considered as a declaration of war upon the administration which was to follow the nomination, gave an earnest of what his course would be; and he was true to the declaration. His speech on the 10th of December, 1811, was directed against the raising of an addition to the army, and against the war against Great Britain, which he saw approaching; and was strongly marked by the *Anglo-mania* which seems afterwards to have attended him to his last hour. He followed up his speech of the 10th of December, 1811, by moving a resolution, "that the

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* Speech of the 10th of December, 1811, in the house of representatives, on the second resolution of the committee of foreign relations, "that an additional force of ten thousand men ought to be raised," &c.

† Letters to Dudley, p. 203, August, 1818.

president of the United States be authorized to employ the regular army of the United States when not engaged in actual service, and when in his judgment the public interest will not be thereby injured, in the construction of roads, canals, or other works of public utility." This resolution he supported in a few but very pungent remarks, which, however, brought to his aid but fourteen votes; the resolution, on the question being taken on its passage, being negatived by one hundred and two members voting against, and fifteen for it.

To the declaration of war itself he opposed all possible resistance. On the 29th of May, 1812, he offered a resolution, "That under existing circumstances it is inexpedient to resort to war against Great Britain." The remarks with which Mr. RANDOLPH prefaced the introduction of this resolution led to an angry debate, principally upon the various questions of order which arose out of the subject matter of the remarks, produced difficulty between him and the speaker, Mr. Clay, whose decision against him on the points of order was sustained by the house. The prefatory remarks to which we have alluded, involved the then existing state of the public relations of the United States with France and Great Britain, exhibiting a strong leaning against the former, and which, after he had spoken about an hour and a half, were decided to be out of order, because a member was bound to submit his motion to the house previously to debating so much at large. Mr. RANDOLPH chose to consider the decision as an "invention for stifling debate;" and he addressed, on the 30th of May 1812, an appeal to his constituents, the freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland, which we give as affording the best specimen of his peculiar views and mode of reasoning, at the period of its publication.

To the Freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—I dedicate to you the following fragment. That it appears in its present mutilated shape, is to be ascribed to the successful usurpation which has reduced the freedom of speech, in one branch of the American congress, to an empty name. It is now established *for the first time, and in the person of your representative*, that the house may, and will refuse to hear a member in his place, or even to receive a motion from him upon the most momentous subject that can be presented for legislative decision. A similar motion was brought forward by the republican minority in the year 1798,* before these modern inventions for stifling freedom of debate were discovered. It was discussed as a matter of *right*, until it was abandoned by the mover in consequence of additional informa-

* This motion was drawn, it is believed, by Mr. Gallatin, but moved by Mr. Sprigg, declaring it to be inexpedient at that time to resort to war against the French republic.

tion (the correspondence of our envoy at Paris) laid before congress by the president. In the "reign of terror," the father of the sedition law had not the hardihood to proscribe the liberty of speech, much less the right of free debate on the floor of congress. This invasion of the public liberties was reserved for self-styled republicans, who hold your understandings in such contempt, as to flatter themselves that you will overlook their every outrage upon the great first principles of free government, in consideration of their professions of tender regard for the privileges of the people.

It is for you to decide whether they have formed a just estimate of your character. You do not require to be told that the violation of the rights of him whom you have deputed to represent you is an invasion of the rights of every man of you, of every individual in society If this abuse be suffered to pass unredressed—and the people alone are competent to apply the remedy—we must bid adieu to a free form of government for ever!

Having learned from various sources that a declaration of war would be attempted on Monday next, *with closed doors*, I deemed it my duty to endeavor, by an exercise of my constitutional functions, to arrest this heaviest of all possible calamities and avert it from our happy country. I accordingly made the effort of which I now give you the result, and of the success of which you will already have been informed before these pages can reach you. I pretend only to give you the substance of my unfinished argument.

The glowing words—the language of the heart—have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. They are no longer under my control. My design is simply to submit to you the views which have induced me to consider a war with England, under existing circumstances, as comporting neither with the INTEREST nor the HONOR of the American people, but as an *idolatrous sacrifice of both*, on the altar of FRENCH RAPACITY, PERFIDY, AND AMBITION!

France has for years past offered us terms of undefined commercial arrangement, as the price of a war with England, which hitherto we have not wanted firmness and virtue to reject. That price is now to be paid. We are tired of holding out, and following the example of the nations of continental Europe; entangled in the artifices, or awed by the power of the destroyer of mankind, we are prepared to become instrumental to his projects of universal dominion. *Before these pages meet your eye, the last republic of the earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant, and become a party to his cause.* The blood of the American freemen must flow to cement his power, to aid in stifling the last struggles of afflicted and persecuted man; to deliver up into his hands the patriots of Spain and Portugal, to establish his empire over the ocean and over the land that gave our forefathers birth; to forge our own chains! And yet, my friends, we are told, as we were told in the days of Mr. Adams, "*the finger of Heaven points to war.*" Yes the finger of Heaven DOES point to war. It points to war, as it points to the mansions of eternal misery and torture; as a flaming beacon warning us of that vortex which we may not approach but with certain destruction. It points to desolated Europe, and warns us of the chastisement of those nations who have offended against the justice and almost beyond the mercy of Heaven. It announces the wrath to come upon those, who, ungrateful for the bounty of Providence, not satisfied with the peace, liberty, security, and plenty at home, fly, as it were, into the face of the Most High, and tempt his forbearance.

To you, *in this place*, I can speak with freedom, and it becomes me to do so: nor shall I be deterred by the cavils and the sneers of those who hold as "foolishness" all that savors not of worldly wisdom, from expressing fully and freely those sentiments which it has pleased God, in his mercy, to engrave upon my heart.

These are no ordinary times. The state of the world is unexampled; the war of the present day is not like that of our Revolution, or any which preceded it, at least in modern times. It is a war against the liberty and happiness of mankind. It is a war in which the

whole human race are the victims, to gratify the pride and lust of power of a single individual. I beseech you, put it to your own bosoms, how far it becomes you as freemen, as Christians, to give your aid and sanction to this impious and bloody warfare against your brethren of the human family. To such among you, if any such there be, who are insensible to motives not more dignified and manly than they are intrinsically wise, I would make a different appeal. I adjure you by the regard you have for your own security and property, for the liberty and inheritance of your children, by all that you hold dear and sacred, to interpose your constitutional powers to save your country and yourselves from the calamity, the issue of which it is not given to human foresight to divine.

Ask yourselves if you are willing to become the virtual allies of Bonaparte? Are you willing for the sake of annexing Canada to the northern states, to submit to that overgrowing system of taxation, which sends the European labourer supperless to bed? To maintain by the sweat of your brow, armies at whose hands you are to receive a future master? Suppose Canada ours; is there any one among you who would ever be, in any respect, the better for it? the richer—the freer—the happier—the more secure? And is it for a boon like this, that you would join in the warfare against the liberties of man in the other hemisphere, and put your own in jeopardy? Or is it for the *nominal* privilege of a licensed trade with France, that you would abandon your lucrative commerce with Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, and their Asiatic, African, and American dependencies? In a word, with every region of those vast continents. That commerce which gives vent to your tobacco, grain, flour, cotton, in short, to all your native products, which are denied a market in France!

There are not wanting men so weak as to suppose that their approbation of warlike measures is a proof of personal gallantry, and that opposition to them indicates a want of that spirit which becomes a friend to his country; as if it required more courage and patriotism to join in the acclamation of the day, than steadily to oppose one's self to the mad infatuation to which every people and all governments have, at some time or other, given way. Let the history of Phocion, of Agis, and of the De Witts, answer this question. My friends, do you expect to find those who are *now* loudest in the clamor for war, foremost in the ranks of battle? Or is the honor of this nation indissolubly connected with the political reputation of a few individuals who tell you *they* have gone too far to recede, and that you must pay, with *your ruin*, the price of *their consistency?* My friends, I have discharged my duty towards you; lamely and inadequate I know, but to the best of my poor ability. The destiny of the American people is in their own hands. The net is spread for their destruction. You are enveloped in the toils of French duplicity; and if, which may Heaven in its mercy forbid, you and your posterity are to become hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the modern Pharaoh, it shall not be for the want of my best exertions to rescue you from the cruel and abject bondage. This sin, at least, shall not rest upon my soul.

JOHN RANDOLPH *of Roanoke.*

May 30*th*, 1812.

This appeal drew, on the 17th of June, 1812, from Mr. Clay, then speaker of the house of representatives, an answer addressed to the editor of the National Intelligencer,* the insertion of which is not

* Niles' Weekly Register, vol. ii, p. 266.

within the views or limits of this sketch, but which, though nearly twenty years have diminished the interest of the occurrence to which it relates, may still be read with pleasure and advantage.

The health of Mr. RANDOLPH was seriously affected in the year 1811; and he seems never to have recovered entirely from the effects of the attack which he then experienced; his life, subsequently, seems to have been "one long disease."* The idea of a restoration from change of air and scene, induced him to visit England in 1822. Of England, Ireland, and Scotland, he possessed, previously to having been there, the most minute and accurate local knowledge, derived, as he himself asserted, from books and conversation aided by a very retentive memory, and he sometimes amused himself not a little at the surprise it created. The attention he attracted upon his first appearance in London was very great, and many characteristic anecdotes of him reached this country. He went again to England in the spring of 1824, with the same hope of improving his health which led to his former voyage, and returned to the United States in the autumn of the same year. Disease, however, had taken such firm hold of him, that his subsequent public life received constant interruptions from its visitations.

In June, 1830, Mr. RANDOLPH was appointed, by president Jackson, minister to Russia upon the recall of Mr. Middleton. He sailed shortly after his appointment, and arrived in London in July, from whence he reached St. Petersburg in September following. His stay in Russia was very short; the severity of the climate was ill adapted to the state of extreme infirmity under which he was suffering, and he returned to London, where, on the 26th of December, 1830, he delivered a speech at the lord mayor's dinner. Many rumors of the extraordinary conduct and behavior of the minister of the United States at the court of St. Petersburg reached this country soon after Mr. RANDOLPH'S arrival in Russia, were made public, and were seized upon with that avidity which affords such stringent proof of the predominance in human nature to enjoy whatever renders our neighbor less in general estimation. Mr. John Randolph Clay, the son of his old friend, who accompanied him as secretary of legation, deemed it right to repel the attacks which were made upon the strength of these rumors, by the publication of a letter, dated at St. Petersburg on the 17th of January, 1831, in

* Letters to Dudley, *passim*.

which he asserted, distinctly, that the statements which had been given to the public on the subject of Mr. RANDOLPH's behavior and conduct, had no foundation in truth. The appointment of Mr. RANDOLPH called forth innumerable attacks upon the president, and upon himself; the most vehement of which were founded upon the allegation that he received the outfit, when he knew he could not discharge the duty of a minister; and an imposing parade of figures was made* upon the subject of the cost to the country of his mission. He returned to America in October, 1831, in a state of extreme exhaustion and weakness.

The tariff or "American system," as it has been sometimes termed, met with the most distinct opposition from Mr. RANDOLPH. He seems to have held the doctrine, that the manufacturing interests were never, in any country, satisfied with the extent of the legislative protection granted to them; and he insisted that the tariff system was one which must end in the utter subversion of the rights of the states generally, and that it would be impossible for the slave-holding states to submit long to its oppression. His views are set forth in a letter dated November 22d, 1832, which he addressed to a writer in the Richmond Enquirer under the signature of a "Friend to Truth."

On the 20th of May, 1833, Mr. RANDOLPH arrived in Philadelphia, on his way to New York, where he intended to embark for Europe, again to try the effect of a voyage. He was in the last stage of a pulmonary disease; and, after lingering three days, he died at the City Hotel in Third street.

Few individuals of modern times have attracted more notice in their own country than JOHN RANDOLPH; but it may be long before his true history and character will be portrayed; before the division of his life into periods shall furnish the materials even for a proper estimate of his views, feelings, and powers. It is conceded that among the orators of his own land, he was a star of the first magnitude, but that his aberrations rendered his lustre worse than useless. He drew an attentive audience together in congress more certainly than any other speaker; his sayings, in which the manner and occasion was often more than the matter, were in every man's mouth, and his fame extended throughout the union. But it has been said,

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* Niles' Weekly Register, September 24th, 1831, p. 69, where the amount is stated at 107,000 dollars.

that, while this was the case, he was brilliant, and nothing more; that he wanted sound, efficient sense, and useful knowledge, and was thus deficient in the most essential qualifications for the station he held in the councils of his country; that, like Cassandra, he was listened to, but never heeded; and was a living example that talent without wisdom leads to nothing. That with all the fame acquired by his eloquence, he was without any real influence, and that while assemblages were gathered together whenever he delivered one of his brilliant harangues, no man set the smallest value upon his opinion. It has been peremptorily denied that he was a statesman; though his career has exhibited him always in the front rank of whatever party he chose to ally himself to, his efforts have been deemed as injurious to his political friends as to their adversaries; and that his whole life was an exhibition of the futility of a mere man of genius, whose career was signalized by words, but left no deeds or great public acts to perpetuate his memory. Let us hope, however, that one day some one from among those who knew him best, may give us the truth in regard to one of the most remarkable of men, whose race was run, and whose voice was loudest in the council of the nation during some of the most difficult periods of existence; it seems almost impossible that such great and general interest and curiosity should have been excited by a mere talker, and that after a long and active life devoted almost exclusively to public affairs, he should have been gathered to his fathers having achieved nothing.

Engraved by W. J. Armstrong from a Painting by T. Sully in possession of E. W. Richards Esq.r

John McLean

JOHN M^cLEAN.

THE subject of this notice is one of those remarkable men, who, by the force of their own independent exertions, have risen from obscurity into great reputation, and into the highest offices in the nation. History has been said to be philosophy teaching by example; and this is more eminently true with regard to Biography, where every lineament of the character is marked with more distinctness, and is seen under a clearer light.

JOHN MCLEAN was born 11th March, 1785, in Morris County, New Jersey. When he was about four years of age his father removed to the western country. He remained a year at Morgantown in Virginia, and then removed to that part of the State which has since been erected into the State of Kentucky. He first settled on Jessamine, near where the town of Nicholasville is now situated; but in 1793 he removed to the neighborhood of Mayslick, where he continued to reside until the year 1797, when he emigrated to the then northwestern territory (now Ohio), and settled on the farm on which the son now lives. At an ealy age John was sent to school, and made unusual proficiency for one whose general opportunities were so limited.

The old gentleman being in narrow circumstances, and having a pretty large family, was unable to send JOHN from home to be educated. He continued, therefore, to labor on the farm until he was about sixteen years of age, when his father consented to his placing himself successively under the instruction of the Reverend Matthew G. Wallace and of Mr. Stubbs, by whose assistance he made great advance in the study of the languages. During this period, his expenses, both for board and tuition, were defrayed by himself; for so limited were the circumstances of his father, that he generously refused any assistance from him.

When about eighteen years of age young MCLEAN went to write

in the clerk's office of Hamilton County. This employment, at the same time that it would enable him to support himself, would also initiate him into the practical part of the law, the profession on which he had already fixed his ardent and aspiring mind. The arrangement was, that he should write in the office for three years, but reserving a certain portion of each day for study; and at the same time he was to prosecute the study of law under the direction of Arthur St. Clair, an eminent counsellor, the son of the illustrious General of that name. It is in this way that a mind animated by a genuine ambition, and firm and determined in its purposes, is frequently able to overcome the greatest difficulties, and to show with how much ease industry and virtue can triumph over all the disadvantages of obscurity and poverty.

During his continuance in the office, young McLean was indefatigable in the prosecution of his double duties. He also became a member of a debating society, the first which was formed in Cincinnati; and it is a fact entitled to notice, that most of the young men who contributed to its formation have since distinguished themselves in the public service of their country. Young McLean took an active part in the discussions which were held in this society. The notice which his efforts attracted still further confirmed him in the determination which he had already taken not to aim at any ordinary mark, but to make the highest intellectual distinction the prize of his ambition.

In the spring of 1807, Mr. McLean was married to Miss Rebecca Edwards, daughter of Dr. Edwards, formerly of South Carolina; a lady who, to the most amiable manners, united the utmost benovolence of character, and presided over the cares of a large family with the greatest judgment and discretion. She died in December, 1840.

In the autumn of the year 1807, Mr. McLean was admitted to the practice of the law, and settled at Lebanon. Here he immediately attracted notice, and soon rose into a lucrative practice at the bar. In October, 1812, he was elected to congress in the district in which he resided, by a very large majority over both his competitors.

From his first entrance upon public life Mr. McLean was identified with the democratic party. He was an ardent supporter of the war and of the administration of Mr. Madison; not that he was the blind and undistinguishing advocate of every measure which was proposed by his party; for he who will take the trouble to turn over the public journals of that period, will find that his votes were mainly given in reference to principle, and that the idea of supporting a dominant

party, merely because it was dominant, did not influence his judgment, or withdraw him from the high path of duty which he had marked out for himself. He was well aware that the association of individuals into parties was sometimes absolutely necessary to the prosecution and accomplishment of any great public measure. This he supposed was sufficient to induce the members composing them, on any little difference with the majority, to sacrifice their own judgment to that of the greater number, and to distrust their own opinions when they were in contradiction to the general views of the party. But as party was thus to be regarded as itself only an instrument for the attainment of some great public good, the instrument should not be raised into greater importance than the end, nor any clear and undoubted principle of morality be violated for the sake of adhering to party. MR. MCLEAN often voted against his political friends; and so highly were both his integrity and judgment estimated, that no one of the democratic party separated himself from him on that account, nor did this independent course in the smallest degree diminish the weight which he had acquired among his own constituents.

The first session which he attended was the extra session in the summer after the declaration of war. At this session, the tax bills were passed to sustain the war. The law which was passed to indemnify individuals for property lost in the public service was originated by MR. MCLEAN, and very naturally contributed to add to the reputation with which he had set out in public life. At the ensuing session he introduced a resolution, instructing the proper committee to inquire into the expediency of giving pensions to the widows of the officers and soldiers who had fallen in the military service, which was afterwards sanctioned by law. At this session he also delivered a very able and effective speech in defence of the administration in the prosecution of the war. This was published in the leading journals of that day, and gave an earnest of the future eminence which our subject was destined to attain.

MR. MCLEAN was a member of the committees of foreign relations and on the public lands.

In the fall of 1815 he was re-elected to Congress with the same unanimity as before. During the same year he was solicited to become a candidate for the senate, which he declined, inasmuch as the House seemed at that time to present the widest arena for the display of talents and for the acquisition of public fame. MR. MCLEAN was at this period barely eligible to a seat in the senate, having just attained his thirtieth year.

Finding that the expenses of a family were greater than the compensation he received as a member of Congress, and having no other resources than were derived from his personal exertions, he consented to become a candidate for the bench of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and was elected to that office in 1816, unanimously. The duties of this station he discharged with great ability. His mind seemed to combine all the leading qualities which are requisite in a Judge, and his advancement to the office was felt to be a public advantage to the whole State. Meanwhile his reputation abroad was increasing in proportion; and in the summer of 1822 Mr. Monroe appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. The emoluments of this office were larger than the salary of Judge. This was a consideration which was entitled to great weight. Judge McLEAN had a growing family, whom he was anxious to educate; and at the same time that he would now be better able to accomplish this darling object, the schools in the district would present a better opportunity for attaining the higher branches of education. He remained in this station, however, only until the first of July, 1823, when he was appointed Postmaster-General.

Many of his friends endeavored to dissuade him from accepting this office. They urged that the former incumbents had found its duties exceedingly arduous, while at the same time they were not exempted from a large share of that abuse and calumny which is so often wantonly and indiscriminately heaped upon the public servants. It was argued by many that no one could acquire reputation in the office. But Judge McLean determined to repose upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, and he went into the office with the determination of devoting his days and nights to the discharge of its duties.

The finances of the department were in a low condition, and it did not possess the public confidence. But immediately order was restored, and the public confidence revived. And it soon became evident how easy it is to manage the most complicated business when the requisite ability and industry are put in requisition for the task. In a short time the finances of the department were in a most flourishing condition; despatch and regularity were given to the mails, and the commercial intercourse of the whole country was prosecuted with the utmost celerity and ease.

Inefficient contractors were dismissed, and the same course was adopted with regard to the postmasters and other agents of the department. Judge McLEAN controlled the entire action of the department. The whole correspondence was superintended and directed by him.

He gave his undivided and personal attention to every contract which was made or altered. All appointments, all charges against postmasters, were acted on by him. In short, there was nothing done, involving the efficiency or character of the department, which was not done under his immediate sanction.

When he accepted the office, the salary of the Postmaster-General was four thousand dollars. A proposition was made to increase it to six thousand, and was sanctioned by the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, in 1827. There were, indeed, very few votes against it; and some of the members who were opposed to it, regretted that they were compelled to pursue that course. In the senate, the bill passed also, almost unanimously. Mr. Randolph voted against it, and said the salary was for the officer and not for the office; and he proposed to vote for the bill if the law should be made to expire when Judge McLEAN left the department.

During the whole period that the affairs of the department were administered by Judge McLEAN, he had, necessarily, a most difficult part to act. The country was divided into two great parties, animated by the most determined spirit of rivalry, and each bent upon advancing itself to the lead of public affairs. A question of great import was now started, whether it was proper to make political opinions the test of qualification for office. Such a principle had been occasionally acted upon during preceding periods of our history, but so rarely, as to constitute the exception rather than the rule. It had never become the settled and systematic course of conduct of any public officer. Doubtless every one is bound to concede something to the temper and opinions of the party to which he belongs, otherwise party would be an association without any connecting bond of alliance: but no man is permitted to infringe any one of the great rules of morality and justice for the sake of subserving the interests of his party. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too strongly impressed upon the public men of America, that nothing is easier than to reconcile these two apparently conflicting views. The meaning of party is that it is an association of men for the purpose of advancing the public interests. Men flung together, indiscriminately, without any common bond of alliance, would be able to achieve nothing great and valuable; while, united together, to lend each other mutual support and assistance, they are able to surmount the greatest obstacles, and to accomplish the most important ends. This is the true notion of party. It imports combined action, but does not imply any departure from the great principles of truth and morality. So long as the structure of the human

mind is so different in different individuals, there will always be a wide scope for diversity of opinion as to public measures; but no foundation is yet laid in the human mind for any material difference of opinion as to what constitutes the great rule of justice.

The course which was pursued by Judge McLEAN was marked by the greatest wisdom and moderation. Believing that every public officer held his office in trust for the people, he determined to be influenced by no other principles, in the discharge of his public duties, than a faithful performance of the trust committed to him. No individual was removed from office by him on account of his political opinions. In making appointments, where the claims and qualifications of individuals were equal, and at the same time one was known to be friendly to the administration, he felt himself bound to appoint the one who was friendly. But when persons were recommended for office, it was not the practice to name, as a recommendation, that they were friendly to the administration. In all such cases the man who was believed to be the best qualified was selected by the department.

On the arrival of General Jackson at Washington, after his election, and when he was about selecting the members of his cabinet, Judge McLEAN was sent for to ascertain whether he was willing to remain at Washington. Gen. Jackson having stated the object he had in view in requesting an interview, the Judge remarked to him, before he submitted any proposition on the subject, that he was desirous to explain to him the line of conduct which he had hitherto pursued. He observed, that the General might have received the impression from some of the public prints that the Postmaster-General had wielded the patronage of his office for the purpose of advancing the General's election to the Presidency: that he wished it distinctly to be understood that he had done no such thing, and that if he had pursued such a course, he would deem himself unworthy of the confidence of the President elect, or of any honorable man. The General replied with warm expressions of regard and confidence, that he approved of his course, and wished him to remain in the post-office department. He at the same time expressed regret that circumstances did not enable him to offer the Judge the Treasury department. The War and the Navy departments were subsequently tendered to him, but he declined them both. Afterwards Gen. Jackson sent for him, expressed great regret at his leaving Washington, and made unbounded professions of friendship if he would consent to remain. But the Judge's resolution had been taken, and he was determined to adhere to it. The spirit of party

had become unusually bitter and acrimonious, and threatened to over leap all the fences with which it had been hitherto confined. He believed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to pursue the even and measured course which he had hitherto followed with so much credit to himself and advantage to the nation. Retirement from political life seemed, under such circumstances, most desirable. The President, however, wishing to avail himself of abilities which had been exerted so long in behalf of the public welfare, offered him the place of Judge of the Supreme Court, the highest judicial station in the country; and on his signifying that he would accept, he was immediately nominated, and the nomination ratified by the senate.

Soon after this appointment many of the public journals in the northern, middle, and western states introduced his name to the public as a candidate for the presidency at the succeeding election. Many of the opposition papers adhered to Mr. Clay, and the name of Mr. Calhoun was brought out in some parts of the South. The Anti-Masonic party showed a strong disposition to rally upon Judge McLEAN, and it was clear that that party could not elect, unless the other elements of opposition should unite with them.

The Anti-Masons met in convention in the fall of the year 1831, and Judge McLEAN addressed a letter to the members of the convention, declining a nomination. In this letter he declared, that "If by a multiplicity of candidates, an election by the people should be prevented, he should consider it a national misfortune. In the present agitated state of the public mind, an individual who should be elected to the chief magistracy by less than a majority of the votes of the people, could scarcely hope to conduct successfully the business of the nation. He should possess in advance the public confidence, and a majority of the suffrages of the people is the only satisfactory evidence of that confidence."

Shortly after the re-election of Gen. Jackson, his name was again brought forward, in the first instance by a nomination of the people in Baltimore, which was followed by similar nominations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and several other States. A majority of the members of the Ohio legislature also nominated him for the same place. At length, in August, 1835, he addressed a letter to the chairman of one of the principal committees, in which he expressed the same sentiments he had declared on the preceding occasion. He was aware that this course would discourage his friends, but he was not desirous to attain the office, except on such terms as would enable

him to carry out those principles which would elevate and tranquillize the political action of the country.

For several years Judge McLean has been the only survivor of the members of the Supreme Court on the bench, at the time he was appointed: Washington was the first who was stricken down, after that period, from that elevated tribunal. His place was filled by Judge Baldwin, who has also fallen. Johnson next followed the demise of Washington. His place was filled by the appointment of Mr. Justice Wayne. The shaft of death then brought to the dust Chief Justice Marshall, who had long been the chief ornament of the bench. Judge Barbour was appointed to fill his vacancy; and he too has fallen; and Mr. Justice Daniel is his successor. Judge Duval resigned under the pressure and infirmity of age, and shortly after died; he was succeeded by Chief Justice Taney. Judge Thompson was the next victim of the fell destroyer, and Mr. Justice Nelson succeeded him. Mr. Justice Grier succeeded Judge Baldwin. Judge Story, whose learning and ability gave renown to that tribunal, was the last of the old bench who fell, leaving Judge McLean the survivor of the court as it was in 1829. Judge Woodbury succeeded Judge Story, and he too has fallen, after a short career; and Judge Curtis is his successor.

In 1837, two Judges were added, making the number nine. Judges Catron and McKinley were appointed to the seats thus created.

The labors of the Judges of the Supreme Court, in their extent and importance, are not appreciated except by those of the legal profession, who occasionally argue causes in that court. On an average fifteen hours in every twenty-four, Sundays excepted, the Judges are laboriously engaged in the performance of their duties. Every part of these require research and intense thought. In hearing arguments in court, the mind must be engaged to the exclusion of other subjects; and in weighing the arguments and looking into the records in each case, and in discussing the legal questions in consultation, as well as writing opinions, the mind is constantly on the stretch. No duties performed by public officers of the government are as exhausting, mentally and physically. Yet it is a singular fact that Judge McLean has not been absent, except one or two days, at the session of the Supreme Court, since he took his seat in January, 1830. This cannot be said of any other Judge.

The powers of that court are more extensive than those which have ever been committed to any other tribunal. It takes cognizance of controversies between states; and where an act of the legislative power, state or federal is in conflict with the constitution of the Union, it has

the power to declare the act void. No questions can arise under the laws of nations, the commercial, or the maritime law, the civil, or the laws of real property, but what may be considered and decided by the Supreme Court. In its hands are deposited the balance power of the nation, and on a faithful discharge of its duties, depend in no inconsiderable degree, the prosperity and permanancy of the government. These great duties have at all times, and under all circumstances, been discharged by that high tribunal in such manner as to receive in a very large degree the public confidence. Whilst the political and executive branches of the government, have been subjected to many changes, which have endangered the great interests of the nation, and sometimes seriously involved the integrity of the Union, no party or body of men have undertaken to deride the powers of the Supreme Court of the Union; and in the most perilous party times, the parties of every hue have looked to that tribunal as the hope of the nation.

Causes involving local rights and feelings may produce much excitement, but resistance to a judgment or decree of the Supreme Court has been rarely threatened, and never carried into effect. Such an attempt has always been frowned upon by the friends of order and good government. And when the day shall come that an organized power, under the auspices of state sovereignty, or otherwise, shall successfully oppose the solemn decisions of that court, it will be followed by the disorganization of the government.

Judge McLEAN has taken a prominent part in all the leading questions, constitutional or otherwise, which have been decided since he took a seat on the bench. In some of them he delivered the opinion of the court, in others he gave his individual opinion, coinciding in the result with the majority of his brethern, and in some cases he dissented and assigned his reasons for doing so.

From the nature of the duties of the supreme bench, and the durable manner in which the acts of each of its members are spread out before the community, a judgment will be made up by the public, as to his ability and fitness for the place, which no effort, friendly or hostile, can materially change. His monuments in the reports of that tribunal, for good or for evil, are written in undying words, and must sustain or depress his public character in all time to come. But few comparatively are called to pass this awful ordeal. Some have passed it, who no longer have an interest in human concerns, but who shed so clear and steady a light upon their path, that throughout the annals of civilization and the common law, it will be regarded. A Judge of the Supreme Court must rest upon his personal qualifications for his

public character, and no man has more reason to rejoice in this arrangement than Judge McLEAN.

As evidences of the high esteem in which Judge McLEAN is held by those most competent to judge of his intellectual and moral excellencies, we may state that the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, has been conferred upon him by Harvard University, at Cambridge, the Wesleyan University, and by one or two other colleges in the United States. He has for several years past also been the President of the American Sunday School Union, the seat of whose operations is in Philadelphia.

We have already said that in 1840, the Judge suffered the severest affliction which such a man can endure, in the loss of the companion of his youth and the mother of his children. She died as she had lived, an example of virtue, and the triumphs of religion. In 1843, he married Mrs. Sarah Bella Garrard, daughter of Israel Ludlow, Esq., one of the founders of Cincinnati, a lady extensively known and admired for the graces of her person, the amiable charm of her manners, and the accomplishments of her refined and cultivated intellect.

Judge McLEAN is tall and commanding in person, well-proportioned, with an appearance indicating great physical vigor and intellectual energy. His general habits of life have always been very simple, and free from ostentation. His temper is highly cheerful, his manners are frank and pleasing, his conversation instructive and eloquent; so that he possesses in a very rare degree the faculty of inspiring confidence and warm attachment towards him in all who come within his influence, especially the younger members of the bar, towards whom he has always especially extended his kindness and courtesy. For many years past he has been a communicant with the Methodist church, and his public and private life has been in perfect harmony with his profession. Diligence, justice, and benevolence have guided him in his whole career as a citizen a lawyer, and a judge.

Painted by Alexander in 1826 Engraved by Burt

Sydna Huntley Sigourney.

LYDIA HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY.

Were we called upon to point out the woman, of America, most worthy to be held up as the pattern and glory of her sex, without a second thought, we should turn, heart and mind, to Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

She was the only child of Mr. Ezekiel Huntley, and a native of Norwich, Connecticut. Her mother, whose maiden name was Wentworth, had a nature enriched with the old pilgrim strength, which gave such distinctive lineaments to the women of her time, and possessed also a wealth of that pure unwritten poetry which found expression in her child. Lydia Huntley was born a true woman, and a true poet. To speak of her birth as being high or low, would be affectation; for, the seat of nobility in our republic, is the soul which comes from God. Though Lydia Huntley must have had a laudable pride in the staunch New England character of her parents, in their probity, natural intelligence, and high respectability, yet the birthright which gives her fame and features a place in this gallery, is from Heaven.

Some day—when the hearths and tombs of our great spirits shall become shrines,—Norwich, Connecticut, will be haunted by those who render homage to genius, for it was her birthplace—and Hartford also, for it was long her home: may the time when her tomb shall be pointed out, remain far, far distant.

Mr. Huntley was a landholder, and had also charge of an estate belonging to Madam Lathrop, the widow of Dr. Daniel Lathrop, and daughter of Joseph Talcott, Governor of Connecticut in 1735 and 1741. In this lady's mansion, his family resided, a separate establishment, but with all the social links of existence drawn close by the hourly intercourse thus enjoyed. Madam Lathrop was a widow and childless, when the little Lydia brought the charm of infant genius to her dwelling. She had nearly reached the limits of fourscore, when the bloom of childhood, and the ripe wisdom of green old age blended their holy contrasts at one fireside. You can see traces of this early association in Mrs. Sigourney even yet. Her meekness is that of one early

impressed with hallowed reverence for the great and good. The subdued manner—the thoughtful care of everything around her—the sweet self-forgetfulness, which half conceals the under current of affection swelling strong and deep beneath this womanly gentleness—all these beautiful traits must have received their most vivid impulses from her infant intercourse with venerable and saintly age.

It is said that the child was precocious, and this is not wonderful, with her own fine nature gathering up the moral strength and golden experience of her aged friend. How could it well be otherwise? But, unlike the generality of precocious children, her after life has been a bright progression. Perhaps this precocity originated in the heart, and excited by love, the brain sprang forward in fervent and healthful sympathy.

Madam Lathrop was a highly gifted lady, with all her strong powers of mind and warm affections unimpaired, and possessed of that personal dignity which insured universal respect. Her memory ranged back through almost the entire eighteenth century, and her friendships had been among the most powerful intellects of her time. Her actual life embraced the most thrilling portion of our national history, and her mind was enriched with that pure old English literature, which had not then been diluted by the froth of desultory authorship. The venerable lady, with all this rich store of intelligence fresh in her memory, still felt the infirmities of advanced years, and but for this gentle child, must have spent many lonely hours while her mind was still athirst for the mental aliment which impaired sight denied. Was not this enough to arouse the soul of a child full of affection and bright with genius? At three years of age, she could read the Bible, and we soon find her in that "low browed and ample room; the wood fire gleaming upon crimson moreen curtains; the gilded clock,—ebony framed mirrors, and polished wainscot, giving back the light from two stately antique candlesticks, reading Milton, and Young, and Sherlock, to her loved friend who sits knitting in the cushioned easy chair." Thus it would seem that through her affections, LYDIA HUNTLEY became precocious. It was no feverish excitement of the brain, but the early and wholesome growth of noble qualities that have strengthened to her present vigorous maturity.

Madam Lathrop's library was rich with chaste English authors, and amid these ancient books her little friend first began to dream those bright imaginings that softly as the dew falls, took to themselves melodies, and at length swelled into poems that will live among the first and best that have enriched our national literature.

The early inspirations of her genius met the most encouraging sympathy from her revered benefactress, and at eight years of age the child had secured two rare blessings, a judicious loving friend, and the power to express the thoughts that tranquilly, like unfolded blossoms lay in her heart.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of a being so gifted, to be thus favored, and fostered. A fond, vigorous minded, and truly religious father; a mother possessed of rare practical sense, with that delicate fancy which must unconsciously have imbued the child with its own unwrought romance; a friend such as few persons were privileged ever to possess; surrounded by all that refines in wealth, without the selfishness and pampered appetites that too often follow in its train, or attend its expectations. We cannot imagine a state of things more favorable to the development of a mind like hers!

Thus, for fourteen years, Lydia Huntley lived in the sweetest and purest of life's enjoyments: but at that period, her noble friend having reached the age of 88—died. Like the fruit of a tropical climate, she had drunk the sunshine and dew of heaven upon the same bough with the blossom, and now fell away, fully ripe, leaving the delicate flower but half unfolded. To the child of genius this was the first great sorrow.

Among the coevals of the subject of this sketch, there was no one to whom she was so tenderly attached as to Ann Maria Hyde, a young lady whose moral and fine mental powers were graced and rendered winning by sweetness of disposition, unaffected modesty, and varied acquirements. The friendship of these two young persons was intimate and endearing. They were companions in long rural walks, they sat side by side at their studies, visited at each other's dwellings, read together, wrought the same embroidery, or, with paint and pencil, shaded the same flower. Youthful friendships are usually so transient, that this might scarcely demand notice, save for the strength of its foundation. It appeared to be based upon a mutual desire to do good; a fixed purpose to employ the talents which God had given them, for the benefit of the world upon which they had entered. In pursuance of this object, they not only assiduously cultivated their mental powers, but engaged with alacrity in domestic affairs and household duties; finding time, also to make garments for the poor, to instruct indigent children, to visit the old and infirm, and to watch with the sick and dying.

Among the plans for future usefulness, which these young friends revolved, none seemed so feasible, or so congenial to their tastes, as

that of devoting themselves to the work of education. This, therefore, they adopted as their chosen sphere of action, and resolutely kept this object in view through the course of their own intellectual culture. The books they read, the studies they pursued, the accomplishments they sought, all had reference to this practical design. After qualifying themselves to teach those English sciences which were considered necessary to the education of young females, together with the elements of the Latin and French, they spent some time in schools at Hartford, principally to acquire those ornamental branches, which were then deemed essential. On their return, they entered, at the age of nineteen, upon the business of instruction. A class of young ladies in their native town gathered around them, and into this circle they cast not only the affluence of well stored minds, and the cheering inspiration of youthful zeal, but all the strength of their best and holiest principles. Animated, blooming, happy, linked affectionately, arm in arm, they daily came in among their pupils, diffusing love and cheerfulness with knowledge, and commanding the most grateful affection and respect. After a pleasing association of two years, the young teachers parted, each to pursue the same line of occupation in a different sphere. But another separation, fatal and afflictive, was appointed. Miss Hyde became the victim of a fever, at the age of twenty-four, in the midst of usefulness and promise. Of this beloved companion, Miss HUNTLEY published an interesting memoir, soon after her decease; and again recurs to her with gushing tenderness, in the piece entitled "Home of an Early Friend," written nearly thirty years after the stroke of bereavement. In flowing verse, and prose almost as harmonious as music, she has twined a lasting memorial of the virtues of the departed, and of that tender friendship which was a marked incident in her own young life.

Before the death of her friend, she had entered with fresh enthusiasm, at Hartford, upon the task of instruction. In this path she was still happy and successful. It was regarded a privilege to be received into her circle, and many of her pupils became life-long friends. She there resided as a welcome and cherished inmate of the family of Madam Wadsworth, relict of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, whose mother was a Talcott, and nearly connected with the revered Madam Lathrop. The mansion-house in which Madam Wadsworth and the aged sisters of her husband dwelt, stood upon the spot now occupied by the Wadsworth Atheneum. It was a spacious structure, unadorned, but deeply interesting in its historic associations. The poem "On the Removal of an Ancient Mansion," is a graphic delineation of the impressions made

upon Mrs. SIGOURNEY's mind, by her acquaintance with the threshold and hearth-stone of this fine old house, and her communion with its excellent inmates.

Another member of the same family, Daniel Wadsworth, Esq., a man of great taste and erudition, manifested a lively interest in her mental cultivation. He had known her from infancy, under the roof of Madam Lathrop, and had there seen some of her early effusions, both in prose and verse.

At his earnest solicitation, she consented that some of these should be arranged for the press. The selection, which was principally from her journals, with some fugitive poems prompted by passing occurrences, was made by himself; and with his influence and liberality, cast round her as a shield, she first ventured to appear before the public. Seldom has it been the lot of a young author to find a patron so wise, and a friend so true. His kind regard, and that of his amiable lady for her, suffered no diminution until their death, which took place in the years 1845 and 1848, when each had attained the age of seventy-seven. Full of years, and full of honors, they passed away; and her grateful affection for them has been often expressed in her writings, while the memory of their munificence and piety, is held dear among the people where they dwelt. "Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse," the book just alluded to, was followed by the "Memoir of Ann Maria Hyde;" and being urgently solicited by the various periodicals of the day, she became as frequent a contributor to their pages, as the absorbing duties of a teacher would permit. "Traits of the Aborigines," a poem in five cantos, and the longest of her poetical works, was also composed during this period, though not published until after her marriage.

We have now glanced at the principal circumstances that would seem to have had an influence in forming the intellectual and moral character of Miss HUNTLEY. Among these, doubtless, the discipline of her life as a teacher, was strong and salutary. The later emanations of her genius, are enriched with deeper trains of thought, and melodies of higher and more varied power, the outpourings of fresh affections, and the ripened fruits of a meridian sun.

Her marriage with Charles Sigourney, Esq., of Hartford, took place in the summer of 1819. This gentleman was a native of Boston, a merchant of high standing, and a prominent member of the Episcopal Church. His early education had been conducted in one of the thorough and excellent schools of the mother-land, where the foundations are laid deep and strong, by a more energetic discipline than would be tolerated

in our republic. A more convincing proof of the perfection of their system, can scarcely be adduced, than the fact that though the period of his scholastic culture terminated at the age of fourteen, when he returned to his native clime, and devoted himself to the mercantile profession, his critical knowledge of the Latin classics, as well as of the French language, remains unimpaired, though more than three score and ten years have passed over him. To these attainments, he added after the age of fifty, during the brief intervals of business, so much knowledge of Greek, as enabled him to read the Scriptures in that language. Such are his intellectual tastes and habits of application, and so critical the style of whatever has proceeded from his pen, that had he entered the departments of either literature or science, there is no doubt that he might there have won a distinguished reputation.

Mrs. SIGOURNEY, as far as attention to new and important duties would admit, continued her literary pursuits, and was sustained by an increasing fame, both at home and abroad.

A few years after her marriage, a volume of poems appeared from the Boston press, which of itself was enough to secure the position which she still maintains, as first among the female poets of America. But previously to this, a collection of her poetical writings, so far as they could be collected from the periodicals in which they first appeared, had been published in London, under the title of "Lays from the West." As a writer of prose, she has been received with marked favor. "Letters to Young Ladies," and "Letters to Mothers," rank with the most beautiful and useful of her productions. Not less than *five* editions of the former work, have been issued by two publishing houses in London. Quite a number of juvenile books have proceeded from her pen, some of which were prepared as assistants in the instruction of her own little ones. Her works, of different sizes and pretensions, amount to between forty and fifty, more than twenty of which are now in active circulation. Some have passed through numerous editions, others are entirely out of print. Several of them have been published in England and Scotland, with high appreciation. Her latest volume of poems was an illustrated octavo, from the Philadelphia press, issued in a uniform series with Bryant, Willis, Longfellow, and Mrs. Osgood.

Among her poems, the longest ones, "Traits of the Aborigines," 'Zinzendorff," and "Pocahontas," have not been the most popular, though the last named, is a highly wrought piece of sterling value. Her most beautiful effusions, those which are favorites now, and destined to lasting fame and favor, are short productions—tender,

lyrical, impassioned, descriptive, simple in thought and complete in finish. Such are "The Coral Insect," "Death of an Infant," "Western Emigrant," "Connecticut River," "Niagara," "Return of Napoleon," "The Last Supper," "Indian Names," "Berkshire Jubilee," and countless others, all of the same unrivalled grace; and though each be but a single bud or flower, yet, woven together, they form a wreath of undying bloom, verdure, and fragrance, which would adorn the brow of any poet of any age.

Her works have been ever held in subservience to the duties of the domestic sphere, and written amid interruptions, which only an early and fixed attention to system in the division of time could have overcome. Of her poems, she herself says, "the greater part were suggested by passing events, and partake of the nature of extemporaneous productions. Like wild flowers amid the dells or clefts of the rock, they have sprung up wherever the path of life has chanced to lead."

More freely than any of our authors, she has been invoked for anniversary odes, hymns for benevolent societies, and elegiac verses to solace mourning strangers; services which must from their nature be promptly rendered, and were seldom refused, though their payment could not be in fame, but in the pleasure of obliging. Miss Edgeworth, in her critique upon the writings of Mrs. SIGOURNEY, thus alludes to this species of extemporaneous composition.

"Mrs. SIGOURNEY appears to have the power of writing extempore on passing events, at the moment they are called for. But few persons of genius, especially of poetic genius, have ever possessed this power. She must have great command over her own mind, and what a celebrated physician used to call *voluntary attention*, in which most people are lamentably deficient, so that they can never write anything well, when the subject is suggested, and the effort bespoken. Those powers are twice valuable, that can well accomplish their purpose on demand. Certainly, as it regards poetic gifts, they who give promptly, give twice.

"Yet how few, even of professed and eminent writers, have been able to produce any effusions worthy of their reputation, or even worth reading, on what the French call 'de sujets de command,' and what we English designate, as on the spur of the moment. Addison could not. Gray could not. Mrs. SIGOURNEY's friends will be ready to bear testimony that she can."

During her whole life, Mrs. SIGOURNEY has been a devoted daughter, venerating and honoring her parents, almost like a child, even in her maternity. Her love soothed her pious mother upon her death bed, and

when her venerable father, who five years survived his life's companion, had no one to rest upon, but that noble daughter, she became all the world to him. By that deep love, with which genius like hers brightens life, she cheered him with more than a child's devotion, along his widowed path, and when the good old Christian, in his eighty-eighth year, went gently down to the grave, his memory became to her a holy thing. Those who visit her pretty cottage home in Hartford, will find the portrait of this venerable father over the parlor mantle-piece, the face pleasant and tranquil, the hair untouched by a thread of silver, for so it was, even to the last—and a smile lingering not upon the lips alone, but diffused in a gentle glow of benevolence all over the features. In its old place, by the chimney-piece of his own small apartment, stands the staff that supported his last footsteps; and in the daughter's face, as she points out those objects, you will read that undying love, which was only turned more reverently heavenward, by the death of its object.

In 1840, Mrs. Sigourney having had a voyage recommended by her physician, spent a year in England, Scotland, and France. No American ever visited Europe, who, either as a lady or a poetess, was more generally respected. With Samuel Rogers, Joanna Bailey, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. S. C. Hall, and some of the best families among the nobility, she became an honored friend and guest. Among the different classes of Christians in Europe, Mrs. Sigourney moved as a lady, not only of high moral worth, but as distinguished by a spirit, the very opposite of bigotry. She did much to recommend piety in connection with dignified and easy manners, especially among young ladies, some of whom will ever cherish the recollections of her visit among the richest gems of memory. From the Queen of the French, she received after her return, the gift of a superb diamond bracelet, which is now endowed with a touching historical interest.

This year abroad, gave origin to "Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands," one of the most exquisite books of travel ever issued from the American press, and which has ministered to the gratification of many thousands in Europe, as well as in this country.

Up to the present time, Mrs. Sigourney's are among the purest gems of our magazine literature, and her position as first in purity and talent among the lady writers of America, has never been disputed by a person worthy the name of critic.

Two children, a son and daughter, have rewarded Mrs. Sigourney for the affection bestowed on her own parents. The daughter is still by her side. All the pure taste and sweet feminine qualities of the mother

brighten again through the young life of her daughter. But her son, a youth of noble promise, joined his grandfather in Heaven, in the bloom of nineteen. How the bereaved mother suffered, how her woman's heart wrestled with its grief, those who know how deeply and tenderly she has sympathized with the sorrows not only of friends, but of strangers, can well imagine. It is impossible for those who know and love her, to think of this bereavement, without a thrill of sympathy for the sublime submission of that weeping mourner, enabled to exclaim in the depth of her anguish—"God's time and will are beautiful, and through blinding tears I would fain give him praise."

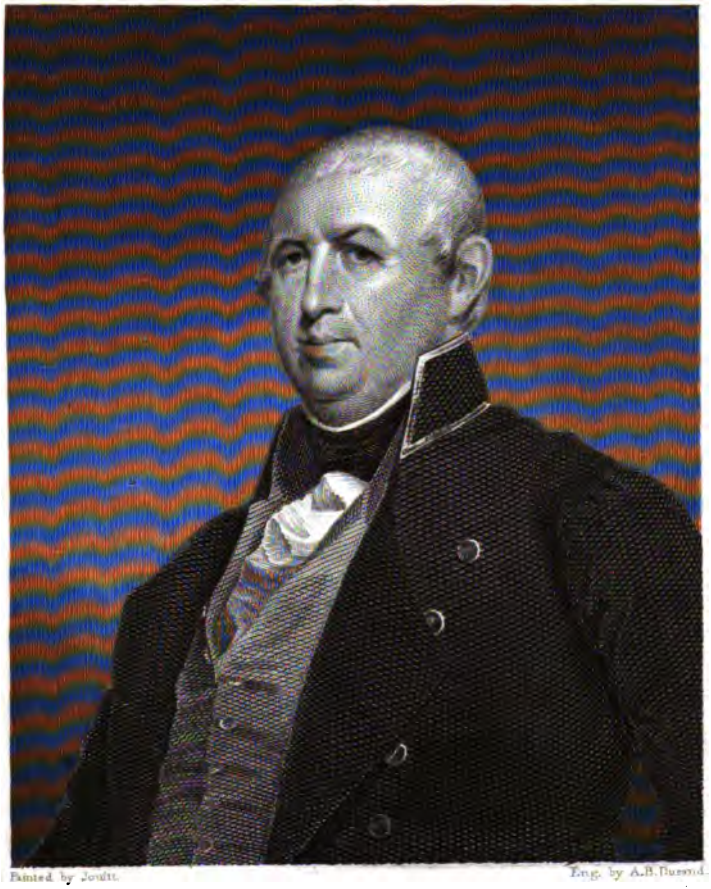
It was in the summer of 1850, that she was called to resign to the tomb, this only son, with whose peculiarly susceptible nature, her own had an intense indwelling, and who early evinced uncommon maturity of mind, extent of intelligence, refinement of spirit, and thoughtful piety. This sorrow has called forth the most tender and impressive of all her works, "The Faded Hope," which was published in England and Scotland, immediately after its appearance in this country. We venture to say, that this touching, simple portraiture, cannot be read without tears. Should the system of intellectual and moral culture, which it unfolds, suggest some important improvements in home-education, which we trust it will, she may yet have reason to rejoice in the happy results of the removal of one, so deeply beloved.

It has already been mentioned that the writings of Mrs. SIGOURNEY have been kindly received, and warmly appreciated in the mother land. Two volumes of her poems, which appeared from the English press during her visit in Europe, the London Atheneum describes as "Reprints of the sweet and graceful compositions which have raised the name of Mrs. SIGOURNEY to the highest rank among the female ornaments of American literature and poetry;" and adds, "So many specimens of her muse, however, have found place in almost every sort of English publication, reviews, magazines, selections, &c., that we will not quote any further examples of their well known beauties, but commend them heartily to the favor of our reading community."

After all, we conceive that Mrs. SIGOURNEY has never fully reached the point, to which her intellectual endowments entitled her to aspire. She has labored in too many fields, and been too strenuous, that no womanly duty should be left undischarged, to have allowed unobstructed scope to her genius. The most striking feature in her habitudes, is intense and systematic industry. In the laborious work of an educator, in the sphere of a New England housekeeper, which is

expected to comprise care, active effort, and economy, and in the various departments of benevolence, which our age continually multiplies, she has performed almost as much as though she had not been a writer. Whatever employment was pressed on her, by her position, and by what pity or piety seemed to ask of her sex, she considered as a duty to be discharged first; and the pen, as partaking more of the nature of a solace, has been held secondary. Had literary fame been her paramount object, this classification would not have been adopted. Yet we doubt not, she prefers it thus to be, not having "loved the praise of men, more than the praise of God."

On a review, we find the history of Mrs. SIGOURNEY, like herself, unpretending, and full of beautiful quietude. It is marked with no strong passages—no overweening ambition—no unwomanly aspirations. Timid, shrinking, gentle as a child—one is almost startled to find her the pioneer of female literature in America, and to learn that she became an author when authorship required courage, when its reward was more than doubtful, and when it was yet undecided, whether fame or reproach would be the result of literary exertion, in a woman. With all her domestic habits, and sweet feminine qualities unimpaired, her genius became triumphant. She has established a noble reputation for herself, a beautiful precedent for her sister women, and yet remained true to her sex, true to her nationality, and true to her God.



Painted by Jouett. Engd. by A.B. Durand.

ISAAC SHELBY.

Isaac Shelby

ISAAC SHELBY.

General Evan Shelby, the father of the late Governor Shelby, when a small lad, emigrated from Wales with his father, and settled in the then province of Maryland, near the North mountain, about 120 years ago. He possessed a strong mind and an iron constitution of body, with great perseverance and unshaken courage. His skill as a hunter and woodsman led to his appointment as captain of a company of rangers, in the French and Indian war, which commenced in 1754; during which year he made several successful expeditions into the Alleghany mountains. He was afterwards appointed a captain in the provincial army destined for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg. He fought many severe battles in what is called Braddock's war. He laid out the old Pennsylvania road across the Alleghany mountain, and led the advance of the army under General Forbes, which took possession of Fort Du Quesne in 1758. His gallantry was particularly noticed in the battle fought at Loyal Hanning, now Bedford, Pennsylvania. In 1772 he removed to the Western Waters, and commanded a company in 1774 in the campaign, under Lewis and Dunmore, against the Indians on the Scioto river. He was in the sanguinary battle of 10th October, 1774, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, and near the close of the action was the commanding officer, Colonels Lewis, Fleming, and Field, being killed or disabled. The result gave peace to the frontier at the critical period of the colonies venturing into the eventful contest of the revolution, and deterred the Indians from uniting with the British until 1776—in that year he was appointed by Governor Henry, of Virginia, a major in the army commanded by Colonel Christian against the Cherokees, which destroyed their towns and crops. In 1777 he was appointed colonel of sundry garrisons posted on the frontier of Virginia, and a commissioner with Colonels Preston and Christian, to hold a treaty with this tribe at the Long Island of the Holston. In 1779 he led a strong expedition against the Chicamauga Indians, on the Tennessee river which

resulted in the destruction of their towns and provisions; and which, occurring at the precise period when General George Rogers Clark captured Governor Hamilton at Vincennes, secured a temporary peace to Tennessee and Kentucky, afforded time for the introduction of popu lation and the opening of land offices, and gave a permanence to the settlements of Kentucky and Cumberland, that never could be broken up by British influence, aided by savage intrigue. By the extension of the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1779, he was included in the latter state, and was appointed by the governor a brigadier general, the first officer of that grade on the Western Waters.

Isaac Shelby, the subject of this memoir, was born on the eleventh day of December, 1750, near to the North mountain, in the province of Maryland, where his father and grandfather settled after their arrival in America from Wales. In that early settlement of the country, which was annoyed during the period of his youth by Indian wars, he obtained only the elements of a plain English education; but, like his father, born with a strong constitution, capable of bearing great privations and fatigue, he was brought up to the use of arms and the pursuit of game.

At the age of twenty-one, he took up his residence in Western Virginia, beyond the Alleghany mountains, and was engaged in the business of feeding and attending to herds of cattle in the extensive natural range which distinguished that section of country. He was a lieutenant in the company of his father in the memorable battle fought 10th October, 1774, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, already mentioned, and, at the close of that campaign, was appointed by Lord Dunmore to be second in command of a garrison, ordered to be erected on the ground where this battle was fought. This was, probably, the most severely contested conflict ever maintained with the north-western Indians; the action continued from sunrise to sunsetting, and the ground, for half a mile along the bank of the Ohio, was alternately occupied by each of the parties in the course of the day. So sanguinary was the contest, that blood was found on each of the trees behind which the parties were posted. The Indians, under the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, abandoned the ground under cover of the night.

Lieutenant Shelby continued in this garrison until it was disbanded, in July, 1775, by order of Governor Dunmore, who was apprehensive it might be held for the benefit of the rebel authorities. He proceeded immediately to Kentucky, and was employed as a

surveyor under Henderson & Co., who styled themselves proprietors of the country, and who had established a regular land office under their purchase from the Cherokees. He resided in the then wilderness of Kentucky for nearly twelve months, when, from continued exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and being without bread or salt, his health was impaired, and he returned home.

In July, 1776, during his absence from home, he was appointed captain of a minute company by the committee of safety in Virginia. In the year 1777, he was appointed, by Governor Henry, a commissary of supplies for an extensive body of militia, posted at different garrisons to guard the frontier settlements, and for a treaty to be held at the Long Island of Holston river, with the Cherokee tribe of Indians. These supplies could not have been obtained nearer than Staunton, Va., a distance of three hundred miles; but by the most indefatigable perseverance, (one of the most conspicuous traits of his character,) he accomplished it to the satisfaction of his country.

In 1778, he was engaged in the commissary department, providing supplies for the continental army, and for an expedition, by the way of Pittsburg, against the north-western Indians. In the early part of 1779, he was appointed by Governor Henry to furnish supplies for the campaign against the Chicamauga Indians, which he effected upon *his own individual credit.* In the spring of that year, he was elected a member of the Virginia legislature from Washington county, and in the fall of that year, was commissioned a major, by Governor Jefferson, in the escort of guards to the commissioners for extending the boundary line between that state and the state of North Carolina. By the extension of that line, his residence was found to be within the limits of the latter state, and shortly afterwards, he was appointed by Governor Caswell a colonel of the new county of Sullivan, established in consequence of the additional territory acquired by the running of that line.

In the summer of 1780, Colonel SHELBY was in Kentucky, locating and securing those lands which he had five years previously marked out and improved for himself, when the intelligence of the surrender of Charleston, and the loss of the army, reached that country. He returned home in July of that year, determined to enter the service of his country, and remain in it until her independence should be secured. He could not continue to be a cool spectator of a contest in which the dearest rights and interests of his country were involved. On his arrival in Sullivan, he found a requisition from General

Charles M'Dowell, requesting him to furnish all the aid in his power to check the enemy, who had overrun the two Southern states, and were on the borders of North Carolina. Colonel SHELBY assembled the militia of his county, called upon them to volunteer their services for a short time on that interesting occasion, and marched, in a few days, with three hundred mounted riflemen, across the Alleghany mountains.

In a short time after his arrival at M'Dowell's camp, near the Cherokee ford of Broad river, Colonel SHELBY, Lieutenant-colonels Sevier and Clarke, the latter a refugee officer from Georgia, were detached with six hundred men to surprise a post of the enemy in front, on the waters of the Pacolet river. It was a strong fort, surrounded by abattis, built in the Cherokee war, and commanded by that distinguished loyalist, Captain Patrick Moore. On the second summons to surrender, after the Americans had surrounded the post within musket shot, Captain Moore surrendered the garrison with one British sergeant major, ninety-three loyalists, and two hundred and fifty stand of arms, loaded with ball and buck-shot, and so arranged at the port-holes as to have repulsed double the number of the American detachment. Shortly after this affair, Colonels SHELBY and Clarke were detached, with six hundred mounted men, to watch the movements of the enemy, and, if possible, cut up his foraging parties. Ferguson, who commanded the enemy, about twenty-five hundred strong, composed of British and tories, with a small squadron of British horse, was an officer of great enterprise, and although only a major in the British line, was a brigadier general in the royal militia establishment, made by the enemy after he had overrun South Carolina, and was esteemed the most distinguished partisan officer in the British army. He made several attempts to surprise Colonel SHELBY, but his designs were baffled. On the first of August, however, his advance, about six or seven hundred strong, came up with the American commander at a place he had chosen for battle, called Cedar Spring, where a sharp conflict ensued for half an hour, when Ferguson approached with his whole force. The Americans then retreated, carrying off the field fifty prisoners, mostly British, including two officers. The enemy made great efforts, for five miles, to regain the prisoners; but the American commander, by forming frequently on the most advantageous ground to give battle, so retarded the pursuit, that the prisoners were placed beyond their reach. The American loss was ten or twelve killed and wounded. It was in the severest part of this action, that Colonel SHELBY's

attention was arrested by the heroic conduct of Colonel Clarke. He often mentioned the circumstance of his ceasing in the midst of the battle, to look with astonishment and admiration at Clarke fighting.

General M'Dowell having received information that five or six hundred tories were encamped at Musgrove's Mill, on the south side of the Enoree, about forty miles distant, again detached Colonels SHELBY, Clarke, and Williams of South Carolina, with about seven hundred horsemen, to surprise and disperse them. Major Ferguson, with his whole force, occupied a position immediately on the route. The American commanders took up their line of march from Smith's ford of Broad river, just before sundown, on the evening of the 18th of August, 1780, continued through the woods until dark, and then pursued a road, leaving Ferguson's camp about three miles to the left. They rode very hard all night, frequently on a gallop, and just at the dawn of day, about half a mile from the enemy's camp, met a strong patrol party. A short skirmish ensued, and several of them were killed. At that juncture, a countryman, living just at hand, came up and told them that the enemy had been reinforced the evening before with six hundred regular troops, (the Queen's American regiment, from New York,) under Colonel Innes, destined to reinforce Ferguson's army. The circumstances attending the information were so minute, that no doubt was entertained of its truth. To march on and attack the enemy then seemed to be improper; fatigued and exhausted as were the Americans and their horses, to attempt an escape was impossible. They instantly determined to form a breastwork of old logs and brush, and make the best defence in their power. Captain Inman was sent out with twenty-five men to meet the enemy, and skirmish with them as soon as they crossed the Enoree river. The sound of their drums and bugle horns soon announced their movements. Captain Inman was ordered to fire upon them and retreat, according to his own discretion. This stratagem (which was the suggestion of the captain himself) drew the enemy out in disorder, supposing they had forced the whole party; and when they came up within seventy yards, a most destructive fire commenced from the American riflemen, who were concealed behind the breastwork of logs. It was an hour before the enemy could force the riflemen from their slender breastwork; and just as they began to give way in some parts, Colonel Innes was wounded, and all the British officers, except a subaltern, being previously killed or wounded, and Captain Hawsey, a noted leader among the tories, being shot down, the whole of the enemy's line commenced a retreat.

The Americans pursued them closely, and beat them across the river. In this pursuit, Captain Inman was killed, bravely fighting the enemy hand to hand. Colonel SHELBY commanded the right wing, Colonel Clarke the left, and Colonel Williams the centre. According to M'Call's History of Georgia, the only work in which this battle is noticed, the British loss is stated to be sixty-three killed and one hundred and sixty wounded and taken—the American loss to be four killed and nine wounded. Amongst the former Captain Inman, and amongst the latter, Colonel Clarke and Captain Clarke.

The Americans returned to their horses, and mounted with a determination to be before night at Ninety-Six, at that time a weak British post, distant only thirty miles. At that moment, an express from General M'Dowell came up in great haste, with a short letter in his hand from Governor Caswell, dated on the battle ground, apprizing M'Dowell of the defeat of the American grand army under General Gates, on the 16th, near Camden, and advising him to get out of the way, as the enemy would, no doubt, endeavor to improve their victory to the greatest advantage, by destroying all the small corps of the American army. It was a fortunate circumstance that Colonel SHELBY knew Governor Caswell's handwriting, and what reliance to place upon it; but it was a difficult task to avoid the enemy in his rear, his troops and their horses being fatigued, and encumbered with a large number of British prisoners. These, however, were immediately distributed amongst the companies, so as to make one to every three men, who carried them alternately on horseback, directly towards the mountains. The Americans continued their march all that day and night, and the next day until late in the evening, without even halting to refresh. This long and rapid march saved them; as they were pursued, until late in the afternoon of the second day after the action, by a strong detachment from Ferguson's army. Colonel SHELBY, after seeing the party and prisoners out of danger, retreated to the Western Waters with his followers, and left the prisoners in charge of Colonels Clarke and Williams, to convey them to some point of security in Virginia; for at that moment there was not the appearance of a corps of Americans south of that state. The panic which followed the defeat of Gates and of Sumter, induced the corps of M'Dowell's army to disperse, some to the west and some to the north. The brilliancy of this affair was obscured, as indeed were all the minor incidents of the previous war, by the deep gloom which overspread the public mind after the disastrous defeat of General Gates.

Ferguson was so solicitous to recapture the prisoners, and to check these daring adventures of the mountaineers, that he made a strenuous effort with his main body to intercept them; but failing of his object, he took post at a place called Gilbert town, from whence he sent the most threatening messages by paroled prisoners to the officers west of the mountains, proclaiming devastation to their country if they did not cease their opposition to the British government.

This was the most disastrous and critical period of the revolutionary war, to the South—no one could see whence a force could be raised to check the enemy in their progress to subjugate this portion of the continent. Cornwallis, with the main army, was posted at Charlotte town, in North Carolina, and Ferguson, with three thousand, at Gilbert town, while many of the best friends of the American government, despairing of the freedom and independence of America, took protection under the British standard. At this gloomy moment, Colonel SHELBY proposed to Colonels Sevier and Campbell, to raise a force from their several counties, march hastily through the mountains, and attack and surprise Ferguson in the night. Accordingly, they collected with their followers, about one thousand strong, on Doe Run, in the spurs of the Alleghany, on the 25th of September, 1780, and the next day commenced their march, when it was discovered that three of Colonel Sevier's men had deserted to the enemy. This disconcerted their first design; and induced them to turn to the left, gain his front, and act as events might suggest. They travelled through mountains almost inaccessible to horsemen. As soon as they entered the level country, they met with Colonel Cleveland with three hundred men, and with Colonels Williams, Lacy, and other refugee officers, who had heard of Cleveland's advance, by which three hundred more were added to the force of the mountaineers. They now considered themselves to be sufficiently strong to encounter Ferguson; but being rather a confused mass, without any head, it was proposed by Colonel SHELBY, in a council of officers, and agreed to, that Colonel Campbell, of the Virginia regiment, an officer of enterprise, patriotism, and good sense, should be appointed to the command; and having determined to pursue Ferguson with all practicable dispatch, two nights before the action they selected the best horses and rifles, and at the dawn of day commenced their march with nine hundred and ten expert marksmen. As Ferguson was their object, they would not be diverted from the main point by any collection of tories in the vicinity of their route. They pursued him for the last thirty-six hours without

alighting from their horses to refresh but once, at the Cowpens for an hour, although the day of the action was so extremely wet, that the men could only keep their guns dry by wrapping their bags, blankets, and hunting shirts around the locks, which exposed their bodies to a heavy and incessant rain during the pursuit.

By the order of march and of battle, Colonel Campbell's regiment formed the right, and Colonel SHELBY's regiment the left column in the centre: the right wing was composed of Sevier's regiment, Major Winston's and M'Dowell's battalions, commanded by Sevier himself—the left wing was composed of Colonel Cleveland's regiment, the followers of Colonels Williams, Lacy, Hawthorn, and Hill, headed by Colonel Cleveland in person. In this order the mountaineers pursued until they found Ferguson, securely encamped on King's mountain, which was about half a mile long, and from which he declared the evening before, that "GOD ALMIGHTY could not drive him." On approaching the mountain, the two centre columns displayed to the right and left, formed a front, and attacked the enemy, while the right and left wings were marching to surround him. In a few minutes the action became general and severe; continuing furiously for three fourths of an hour, when the enemy being driven from the east to the west end of the mountain, surrendered at discretion. Ferguson was killed, with three hundred and seventy-five of his officers and men, and seven hundred and thirty captured. The Americans had sixty killed and wounded; of the former, Colonel Williams.

This glorious achievement occurred at the most gloomy period of the revolution, and was the first link in the great chain of events to the South, which established the independence of the United States. History has heretofore, though improperly, ascribed this merit to the battle of the Cowpens, in January, 1781; but it belongs, justly, to the victory on King's mountain, which turned the tide of war to the South, as the victory of Trenton, under Washington, and of Bennington, under Stark, did to the North. It was achieved by raw, undisciplined riflemen, without any authority from the government under which they lived, without pay, rations, ammunition, or even the expectance of reward, other than that which results from the noble ambition of advancing the liberty and welfare of their beloved country. It completely dispirited the tories, and so alarmed Cornwallis, who then lay only thirty miles north of King's mountain with the main British army, that on receiving information of Ferguson's total defeat and overthrow by the riflemen from the West, under

Colonels Campbell, SHELBY, Cleveland, and Sevier, and that they were bearing down upon him, he ordered an immediate retreat, marched all night in the utmost confusion, and retrogaded as far back as Winnsborough, sixty or eighty miles, whence he did not attempt to advance until reinforced three months after by General Leslie, with two thousand men from the Chesapeake. In the mean time, the militia of North Carolina assembled in considerable force at New Providence, on the border of South Carolina, under General Davidson—General Smallwood, with Morgan's light corps, and the Maryland line, advanced to the same point. General Gates, with the shattered remains of his army, collected at Hillsborough, also came up, as well as the new levies from Virginia, of one thousand men, under General Stevens;—this force enabled General Greene, who assumed the command early in December, to hold Cornwallis in check.

The legislature of North Carolina passed a vote of thanks to Colonel SHELBY and several other officers, and directed each to be presented with an elegant sword, for his patriotic conduct in the attack and defeat of the enemy on King's mountain, on the memorable 7th October, 1780. This resolution was carried into effect, as to Colonel SHELBY, in the summer of 1813, just at the moment when, in the language of Secretary Monroe, "disclaiming all metaphysical distinctions tending to enfeeble the government," he was about to lead his troops far beyond the limits of the state of which he was governor. The presentation at that particular time afforded a presage of the new glory he was to acquire for himself and country in that eventful campaign.

If any were entitled to special commendation in this band of heroic spirits on King's mountain, the claim of Colonel SHELBY would be well founded. He originated the expedition, and his valor and unshaken resolution contributed to rally the right wing when driven down the mountain by a tremendous charge from the enemy, at the onset of the battle. Nor have the histories of the war at the South done justice to the sagacity and judgment of Colonel SHELBY upon another interesting occasion, just following the affair on King's mountain. As soon as he had placed the prisoners beyond the reach of the enemy, he repaired to the head quarters of General Gates, and suggested to him the plan of detaching General Morgan towards the mountains. The details of this arrangement were submitted by him and approved by Gates, and Greene had the good sense to adopt them, after he assumed the command. The result of his advice was

exhibited in the splendid affair at the Cowpens, which added fresh laurels to the veteran brows of *Morgan*, *Howard*, and *Washington*.

In the campaign of the fall of 1781, Colonel SHELBY served under General Marion, a distinguished partisan officer, of the boldest enterprise. He was called down by General Greene to that lower country, with five hundred mounted riflemen from the Western Waters, in September, 1781, to aid the General in intercepting Cornwallis, at that time blockaded by the French fleet in the Chesapeake, and who, it was suspected, would endeavor to make good his retreat through North Carolina to Charleston; but upon his lordship's surrender in Virginia, Colonel SHELBY was attached to General Marion's command below, on the Santee, and was second in command of a strong detachment of dragoons, under Colonel Mayhem, ordered to carry a British post at Fairlawn, near Monk's Corner, eight or ten miles below the enemy's main army, under General Stuart. Information had been received by General Marion, that five hundred Hessians at that post were in a state of mutiny, and would surrender to any considerable force that might appear before it. But the officer commanding the post having some apprehensions of their fidelity, had marched them off to Charleston, the day before Colonel Mayhem appeared before it. The post, however, was surrendered, with one hundred and fifty British prisoners. The British general at Ferguson's Swamp, nine miles in the rear, made great, though unavailing efforts to intercept Mayhem's party on their return with the prisoners to General Marion's encampment. Immediately after this excursion, the British commander retreated with his whole force to Charleston.

As the period for which the mounted volunteers had engaged to serve was about to expire, and no farther active operations being contemplated, after the retreat of the enemy towards Charleston, Colonel SHELBY obtained leave of absence from General Marion, to attend the assembly of North Carolina, of which he was a member, which would sit two hundred miles distant, about the first of December. Marion addressed a letter on the subject to General Greene, which Colonel SHELBY was permitted to see, speaking in high terms of the conduct of the mountaineers, and assigning particular credit to Colonel SHELBY for his conduct in the capture of the British post, as it surrendered to him after an ineffectual attempt by an officer of dragoons.

In 1782, Colonel SHELBY was elected a member of the North Carolina assembly, and was appointed one of the commissioners to

settle the preëmption claims upon the Cumberland river, and to lay off the lands allotted to the officers and soldiers of the North Carolina line, south of where Nashville now stands. He performed this service in the winter of 1782–3, and returned to Boonsborough, Kentucky, in April following, where he married Susanna, second daughter of Captain Nathaniel Hart, one of the first settlers of Kentucky, and one of the proprietors styled Henderson & Co., by their purchase of the country from the Cherokees. He established himself on the first settlement and preëmption granted in Kentucky, for the purpose of pursuing his favorite occupation, the cultivation of the soil; and it is a remarkable fact, pregnant with many curious reflections, that at the period of his death, forty-three years after, he was the only individual in the state residing upon his own settlement and preëmption.

He was a member of the early conventions held at Danville for the purpose of obtaining a separation from the state of Virginia; and was a member of that convention which formed the first constitution of Kentucky, in April, 1792. In May, following, he was elected the first chief magistrate, and discharged its arduous duties with signal advantage to the state. The history of his administration of an infant republic in the remote wilderness would fill a volume with deeply interesting incidents, exhibiting him advantageously in the character of a soldier, of a lawgiver, and of a diplomatist; but the limits prescribed to this sketch will not permit a detail of them. At the expiration of four years he retired to private life, being the first period of a general peace with the savages he had ever experienced from his childhood.

He was occasionally chosen as an elector of president; and when another war with Great Britain was expected in 1812, he was again elected to fill the highest executive office. His second administration commenced, also, at an interesting period. The whole western frontier was menaced by a savage foe, aided and supported by British intrigue; our first army captured, and the Michigan territory in possession of the enemy. It was a crisis requiring a display of all the energies of his character, and, at the request of the legislature, he organized a body of four thousand volunteers, which he led in person, at the age of sixty-three, under General Harrison, into Canada, in the fall of 1813. He was the rallying point of patriotism in the state, and but for the unauthorized though judicious step, which he assumed upon his own responsibility, of calling out *mounted* volunteers, the favorable moment for operation at the crisis of the campaign

would have been lost, and the nation deprived of the important results of the memorable victory on the Thames. His gallantry and patriotism on that interesting occasion were acknowledged by the commanding general, and by President Madison; and in resolutions by the legislature of Kentucky, which recognised "his plans and the execution of them as splendid realities, which exact our gratitude and that of his country, and justly entitle him to the applause of posterity." His conduct was approved, also, by a vote of thanks from the congress of the United States, awarding a gold medal as a testimony of its sense of his illustrious services.

In March, 1817, he was selected by President Monroe to fill the department of war; but his advanced age, the details of the office, and his desire, in a period of peace, to remain in private life, induced him to decline an acceptance of it. In 1818, he was commissioned by the president to act in conjunction with General Jackson in holding a treaty with the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, for the purchase of their lands west of the Tennessee river, within the limits of Kentucky and Tennessee, and they obtained a cession of the territory to the United States, which unites the western population, and adds greatly to the defence of the country, in the event of future wars with the savages, or with any European power. This was his last public act.

In February, 1820, he was attacked with a paralytic affection, which disabled his right arm, and which was the occasion of his walking lame on the right leg. His mind continued unimpaired until his death, by apoplexy, on the 18th July, 1826, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. It was a consolation to his afflicted family, to cherish the hope that he was prepared for this event. In the vigor of life, he professed it to be his duty to dedicate himself to God, and to seek an interest in the merits of the Redeemer. He had been for many years a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in his latter days, he was the chief person in erecting a house of worship upon his own land.

The vigor of his constitution fitted him to endure active and severe bodily exercise, and the energetic symmetry of his person, united with a peculiar suavity of manner, rendered his deportment impressively dignified; his strong natural sense was aided by close observation on men and things; and the valuable qualities of method and perseverance, imparted success to all his efforts.

Engraved by H. Wellstone from a Painting by [illegible]

Edw Livingston

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

NOTHING is more becoming to a country, or affords better proof of the excellent spirit of its people, than to find the reward of popular praise and popular honors bestowed upon those, whose labors have been guided by a wise philanthropy, and whose objects have been the welfare and improvement of mankind. It is, therefore, a matter of just pride, that the subject of the present notice should have his memory cherished by his grateful countrymen, as one who rendered important services in his day to the country which gave him birth.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON was born in the year 1764, at Clermont, (Livingston's manor,) Columbia county, New York. His education was commenced at Albany, and continued afterwards at a grammar school at Esopus, in Ulster county, which, on the destruction of that village in the year 1777, was removed to the neighboring village of Hurley. At this school he was prepared for the junior class of Princeton college, which he entered in 1779, and took his degree two years afterwards. The period was the most unfortunate for the attainment of a classical or scientific education. Frequent incursions of the enemy drove the professors from their chairs. The spirit-stirring incidents of the time made the students more anxious to join the bands hastily summoned for defence, than to seek for the more modest honors of literature; and when, as happened on more than one occasion, they were permitted by their teachers to embody themselves in a little company, and march to meet the enemy, they returned with feelings little suited to the calm pursuits of a college. Their number rapidly became very small; the library was scattered; the philosophical apparatus was destroyed; and the college building itself was shared with a detachment of troops quartered in the town. Yet under all these disadvantages, some, at that period, laid the foundation of future celebrity. The class which graduated in the year 1781, consisted but of four young men, yet of these, three met twelve or thirteen years after, as members of the house of representatives of the United States; they were Mr. LIVINGSTON, Wil-

liam B. Giles, a late governor of Virginia, and Abraham Venables, who perished in the dreadful conflagration at Richmond. The former on leaving college, commenced the study of the law at Albany, under the direction of the late Chancellor Lansing, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1785.

From this period until 1794, Mr. LIVINGSTON was employed assiduously in the practice of the law. When, however, the constitution framed by the national convention was submitted to the people, he took a warm part in the question of its establishment, which was more zealously opposed in New York than in any other state. This circumstance, joined with his success at the bar, led to his election, in the year last mentioned, to represent the city of New York, and the counties of Queens and Richmond, in the fourth congress. The whole representation of the state consisted at that time of ten members.

The public career of Mr. LIVINGSTON during the succeeding six years, is embraced in the political history of his country. He was a distinguished and leading member of the republican party, maintaining an elevated position in congress, not less from his talents than from the liberal and candid spirit, the industry, zeal, and philanthropy which he displayed. A few days after he had taken his seat, he called the attention of the house to the existing provisions of the criminal code of the United States, and endeavored, though at that time without effect, to reform their sanguinary character, and adapt them more justly to the nature and quality of offences. He introduced, and after repeated efforts, carried, several laws for the protection and relief of American seamen left by accident or misfortune on foreign shores. He ardently promoted the establishment and gradual increase of the navy, and he supported the existing government, though opposed to its general policy, in every measure which was necessary to sustain the honor, or protect the rights of the country.

It was at the commencement of one of the sessions, during which Mr. LIVINGSTON sat in the house of representatives, that General Washington, in a speech to congress, referred to the occasion as the last on which he should meet them, and the address which it was proposed to make him in reply, contained some remarks, in allusion to this circumstance, which led to an animated debate. The vote of Mr. LIVINGSTON, on that occasion, was afterwards represented as evidence of hostility to General Washington; but he fortunately survived to refute the unworthy charge on the floor of the senate of the United States, with an eloquence worthy of the occasion, and

with a feeling natural to one who had grown up in admiration of that great man, and who had seen him in his hours of peril and triumph, with a heart filled with sentiments of sincere veneration. It was indeed shortly after this, while his votes, speeches, and conduct, were fresh in the recollection of his constituents, that his term of service expired, and he was reëlected by an increased majority. A man, entertaining the sentiments towards Washington, that were ascribed to him, would not have received the votes of a city, where his name was adored. If further evidence were necessary, it is found in what occurred some years after. Mr. LIVINGSTON was selected, by the veteran relics of the revolutionary war, the chosen companions in arms of their venerated commander, the New-York Society of Cincinnati, as one of the very few honorary members on whom the distinction has been bestowed. The venerable remnant of the friends and companions of Washington, associated under his auspices for the purpose of cherishing the friendships contracted during the contest he so gloriously conducted, and watching over his fame, so inseparably connected with their own, would not have conferred that distinction on one, who had, at any period of his life, shown himself his enemy or detractor.

After the close of the session of Congress, in the spring of 1801, Mr. LIVINGSTON declined a reëlection, determined to devote himself exclusively to the practice of his profession, in the city of New York. He had not, however, long retired from public life, when he was appointed by the president to the honorable post of attorney of the United States for New York, and he was elected about the same time mayor of the city. This office, which he held upwards of two years, then required high judicial as well as executive talents. He devoted himself to its duties with the industry and zeal which at all times marked his character, and he was called upon to add to these, the active exercise of those benevolent feelings by which he was always equally distinguished. In 1803, the city was afflicted by a desolating pestilence; many of the inhabitants fled in dismay, and death frightfully extended its ravages among those who remained. MR. LIVINGSTON never for a moment deserted his post, but he sacrificed his own comforts, and fearlessly endangered his own life, in his unremitted cares to lessen the calamity that had befallen his fellow-citizens. He was at last attacked himself by the pestilence, and reduced to the point of death. On recovering from his illness, and resuming, as soon as he was able, that attention to his private concerns which he had been obliged to neglect, he found them greatly deranged; he

had been unable, particularly, to give the strict attention necessary to a proper scrutiny into the conduct of persons whom he had intrusted with the collection of debts, due to the United States, and he found himself suddenly and unjustly subjected to heavy responsibilities. Under these circumstances, he did not hesitate as to the course he was to pursue. He immediately resigned the offices which he held. He determined to remove to Louisiana, and there, succeeding in the great object for which he did so, he was, as he expected, enabled, by the arduous pursuit of his profession, to discharge the debt in which he had been involved, with interest to the last farthing. As soon as his difficulties and embarrassments became known to his fellow-citizens, and his intention to leave New York was declared, he received renewed testimonials of public respect. The venerable George Clinton, then governor of the state, addressed him a complimentary letter, expressing his regret; and the common council of New York unanimously presented him an address, which describes, in the most warm and affectionate language, their sense of his services and devotion, their high estimate of his abilities and integrity, their deep regret at his departure from among them, and their prayers for his prosperity and happiness.

In February, 1804, Mr. LIVINGSTON arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana, having then been lately transferred to the United States, pursuant to the treaty negotiated by his brother, Chancellor Livingston. Soon after his arrival, he was called on by some of the principal inhabitants to prepare a memorial to congress, stating their dissatisfaction at being kept in what they considered a state of vassalage, under the first degree of territorial government, instead of being admitted into the union, as the treaty provided they should be, on the footing of an independent state. This paper attracted much attention at the time, though it did not produce the effect which was desired. After Mr. LIVINGSTON had resided some years at New Orleans, his fortune was injured by a controversy, which has become well known, from the important principles it involved, and the ability with which they were discussed. Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, deceived by misrepresentations of fact, and entertaining a most erroneous opinion of his official powers, committed a violent invasion on the private property of Mr. LIVINGSTON, which produced the Batture question, the controversy alluded to. This deprived him of an immense property, the result of his professional labors, and involved him for many years in most expensive litigation. The merits of the subject have been long before the public, in a pam-

phlet of Mr. Jefferson, and the answer of Mr. LIVINGSTON, which last was truly termed an answer to which no reply could be made. None was made. The legal decision was in his favor, and the controversy ended honorably to both parties;—to Mr. LIVINGSTON, in his forgiveness of the injury; to his distinguished adversary, in the more difficult, and more meritorious task, if the maxim be true, of forgiving the man he had injured.

Mr. LIVINGSTON pursued his professional duties without interruption, until the invasion of Louisiana by the British. As soon as he learned that General Jackson was appointed to the military command of the district, he wrote to him and offered his services as an aid, or in any other capacity in which they might be considered useful. His offer was accepted, and as soon as the general arrived at New Orleans, he joined his family, and continued with him during the short but glorious campaign. During this eventful period, he was employed on several important missions, and enjoyed the confidence of the general. At the close of the war he received from him the most flattering testimonials of that regard which has since been more signally evinced. When, shortly afterwards, the well known arrest of General Jackson occurred, and he appeared before the court to account, or atone for breaches of the municipal laws, which, necessity had obliged him to commit, for the preservation of the country; his written defence, remarkable for the eloquence and simplicity of its style, and for the clear and vigorous view of the circumstances and the law which it presents, was prepared and submitted by Mr. LIVINGSTON, who acted as his counsel on the occasion.

But the services of Mr. LIVINGSTON to his adopted state were destined to be of a character even more important and enduring, than a participation in the gallant military exploits by which she was defended and saved. When he first arrived there, he had found the jurisprudence of the province in a state of extreme confusion. Judges from the United States, were appointed to administer laws written in a language they did not understand, and according to forms of which they were entirely ignorant. The legislative power was incompetent to provide a remedy, and even had it been, it was entrusted to men, who, though highly respectable, were unused to such duties. It soon became essential, therefore, that, although the body of laws could not be at once changed, a mode of procedure under them should be established. Mr. LIVINGSTON, and Mr. James Brown, since well known as a senator from Louisiana, and an able representative of the United States to France, were requested to perform this duty.

Discarding alike the fictions and technicalities of the common law and the prolixity of the Spanish code, they prepared a simple, cheap, expeditious, and intelligible mode of conducting suits. An attempt was made to defeat it, which was chiefly sustained by those members of the bar, who had become accustomed to the modes of legal practice in other states. They endeavored, by taking advantage of an equivocal expression in the ordinance, organizing the government of the new territory, to establish the system prescribed by the English common law. Their attempt was successfully resisted by Mr. LIVINGSTON and Mr. Brown, though manifestly against their own interest. They saw that the tranquillity of the country would have been endangered, by imposing on the people, a law at once so complex and so different from that under which they had lived. The legislative council adopted their views, their system of procedure was introduced, and it has ever since stood the test of experience.

The system of municipal law which had continued in use, since the cession of the province, consisted for the most part, of a digest chiefly compiled from the Napoleon code, but it was found to want so much amendment, that in the year 1820 the legislature determined on its complete revision, and appointed Mr. LIVINGSTON, and Mr. Derbigny, and Mr. Moreau, a commission to execute it. This was a laborious task, and too little time was allowed for its execution. It was, however, completed in 1823, and submitted to the legislature, by whom it was adopted, with the exception of the commercial code, to some of the provisions of which, opposition was made. In this arduous duty, the well known industry of Mr. LIVINGSTON gives assurance that he took his full share, and the whole title of "obligations" is said to be exclusively his. He was, however, at the same period, engaged in a work of at least equal importance, with which he was solely charged. Having, a few years before, introduced into the state legislature, of which he was a member, a bill for preparing a system of penal law for the state, he was himself elected by that body, in 1821, to perform this arduous and responsible duty. The following year he presented a report, containing a plan of a penal code, and specimens of its execution. These were unanimously approved, and he was earnestly requested to finish it. Thus encouraged, he devoted himself to the task, and as early as the autumn of 1824, notwithstanding his very extensive professional engagements, and the share he took in the labor of preparing the civil code, he had ready for the press, the whole system of penal law. It consisted of a code of crimes and punishments, a code of criminal procedure, a

code of evidence, a code of reform and prison discipline, and a book of definitions, together with introductory reports to each, pointing out the changes made in existing laws, the new enactments proposed, and the principles and reasons on which they were founded. Having received authority to print it, for submission to the legislature, he had caused a fair copy to be made. Before it was delivered to the printer, anxious that no errors might remain in it, he passed a great part of the night, in comparing it himself with the original draught. He went to bed at a late hour, with the pleasing reflection of having finished a most laborious task. Not long afterwards he was awakened by a cry of fire, which was found to proceed from the room where his papers had been left. They were all consumed. Not a note or memorandum was saved. Though stunned at first by the sudden misfortune, his equanimity and industry soon led him to repair it. Before the close of the same day, he quietly commenced the task of re-composition; and, in two years afterwards, he presented his work to the legislature of Louisiana, in a shape more perfect than that in which it originally was. It displays its author's extraordinary talent, and the philanthropist and the jurist must look with equal anxiety and interest to its adoption. The beauty of its arrangement, the wisdom of its provisions, the simplicity of its forms, and the clearness of its language, equal, but do not surpass, the philanthropy, the wise views of human character, the knowledge of social intercourse, and the insight into the sources of happiness and misery, by all of which it is distinguished, far beyond any similar system of criminal law, that has emanated from the jurists of any age or country. To those who have made penal jurisprudence their study, and who have examined and reflected on, not merely the codes, but the admirable introductory reports by which they are preceded, this praise will not appear exaggerated. Whatever may be the fame of Mr. LIVINGSTON, as a statesman or an advocate, whatever reputation his patriotic and his professional exertions have gained for him, among his own countrymen, this great work will secure to him enduring honor, wherever the cause of philanthropy is cherished, and wherever men exist who love and admire just and simple laws.

More than twenty years had now elapsed since Mr. LIVINGSTON had deserted the scenes of political life. He had arrived at an age when most men are desirous to leave it altogether; but being chosen by the people of Louisiana to represent them in congress, he again took his seat in that body in the month of December, 1823. He no longer desired to assume the active position he had formerly held.

He was a less frequent speaker; but he nevertheless originated several important measures, and engaged in the debates on many that were brought forward by others.

In 1829, he was elected by the legislature of Louisiana to represent the state in the senate of the United States, and he there introduced and carried several measures of extensive and permanent benefit to his country. On all questions of general policy; on all such as related to the exercise of constitutional powers, or to the development of great principles of legislation, he was listened to with the confidence and respect which were yielded, not less to his well established abilities and extensive knowledge, than to the simplicity, the dignity, and the patriotism that marked his character and actions. His speech on the celebrated resolution of Mr. Foote, relative to the public lands, is certainly among the most eloquent and able that were delivered on that occasion; and it is peculiarly interesting, from the view it presents of the principles on which the great party distinctions of the people of the United States were originally founded; of the comparative powers and duties of the different branches of the government; and especially of the relations, which, by the constitution, ought to exist between the government and the states. The views he adopted were shown to be those, which, from the earliest periods of the government, had been acted upon and supported by his political friends.

In the spring of 1831, Mr. LIVINGSTON was called by the president to fill the honorable post of secretary of state. His course there is of too recent a date, and his duties were necessarily of a character too confidential, to be perfectly known, or to be publicly discussed if they were known. We believe, however, that it may be said, with propriety and truth, that the offer of the first place in his cabinet, when made by General Jackson to Mr. LIVINGSTON, was as unexpected as it was unsolicited; and that he hesitated for some time before he accepted it. With the modesty and unaffected diffidence which are striking traits of his character, he distrusted his ability to perform the duties of the office, and in comparing his own talents with those of some of the distinguished men who had preceded him, in the same station, he was for a while inclined to doubt the wisdom of embarking in the same career. Such, however, was not the sentiment of his fellow-citizens. Their anticipations of his course were the reverse of his own, and they proved to be more just. No act of the president was hailed with more satisfaction by the country, nor was any attended with more advantage to its prosperity, its interests,

and its fame. All the public documents from the pen of Mr. Livingston, having reference to the foreign relations of the United States, present a clear view of those interesting concerns. The instructions under which the treaty with Naples was formed, were soon after published by order of congress, and in their energetic tenor and unanswerable reasoning were found prominent causes for the success of the negotiations with that government, and for the conclusion of the treaty by which the claims of our merchants were so amply recognized. While he remained in the department of state, instructions were given to our ministers at London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Lisbon, the Hague, Mexico, and the South American states, on all the important points of discussion between those governments and our own; and when these documents shall be made public, it will no doubt be found, that in clear language, in political wisdom, and in enlightened spirit, they will redound as much to the honor of the administration to which they belong, as any of the various state papers of which the American people are so justly proud. Just before Mr. Livingston left the department, he negotiated and signed a treaty with the minister of Belgium, and he exchanged with the minister of Russia, the ratification of another previously made, under his instructions, at St. Petersburg. In all these negotiations, he is understood to have been particularly anxious to introduce stipulations which will ameliorate the intercourse between nations, in a degree corresponding with the improvement of the times; to extend, advantageously, our commerce with remote nations; and to obtain new fields for American enterprise, the results of which have been found highly beneficial as they have been more fully developed. In the same spirit which governed him in these negotiations, were his reports made to congress on our diplomatic establishments, and on the regulation of our consulates abroad; all containing recommendations eminently deserving attentive consideration, and calculated to contribute not less to our interests, than our national honor. In those measures of the government, which belonged less to a particular department, than to the general policy of the administration, the abilities and experience of Mr. Livingston could not fail to render him an able counsellor, and secure for him unlimited respect and confidence. When the president adopted the resolute and patriotic course of issuing his proclamation relative to the proceeding of South Carolina, it was well understood that he net with the undi vided assent of his cabinet; if, therefore, public opinion has assigned to Mr. Livingston, more than his share in that measure, it has

probably been guided by the similarity of the views, taken on this occasion, with those declared by him in his remarks in the senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foote, to which we have already referred; or perhaps to the well known fact, that his sentiments coincide entirely with the doctrines so admirably expressed in that celebrated instrument.

On the reëlection of General Jackson, in 1833, Mr. LIVINGSTON retired from the department of state, and accepted the honorable but less laborious office, which was tendered to him by the president, of minister to France—an office in which his brother, Chancellor Livingston, had previously acquired a distinguished reputation; and which he probably accepted with more gratification from this circumstance, as well as from having unexpectedly received about the same time, the highest testimonials of respect and honor, from the most distinguished literary and scientific institutions of that country.

His continuance in France was not very long; his health failed, as well it might when he had laboriously served his country till he had attained the full age of man. In his mission to the French court, as in every other engagement, he more than satisfied his countrymen. He returned to New York, and at Rhinebeck, in that state, he peacefully yielded his spirit to God, May 23, 1837, in the seventy-second year of his age.

As in public life Mr. LIVINGSTON showed whatever excellencies the man always standing before the world, should manifest, so in his private character he was always distinguished for benevolence and modesty; he was remarkable for transparent simplicity, elegant taste, and earnest desire for the happiness of mankind.

Engraved by T. Illman

MAJOR GENERAL

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Lincoln

PAINTED BY J. HEELING FROM THE ORIGINAL

IN THE PLACE OF THE COLLECTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

THIS distinguished individual, who truly deserves, in the language of one of his biographers, "a high rank in the fraternity of American heroes," was a native of the pleasant little town of Hingham, situated on a small bay which sets up south from Boston, at the distance of about thirteen miles from the city, and within a few years become one of the principal summer resorts of such of its residents as grow weary at that season of the dust and din of its "populous streets." He was born January 23d, (O. S.,) 1733, in the same house which he died in, and which is still pointed out to the stranger by the members of the large and highly respectable family of his own name, who are among the inhabitants of the place to this day.

The parentage and early situation and education of LINCOLN, although far enough from being remarkably imposing, were well calculated, like those of many others of the greatest men of the revolutionary period, to prepare him for the trying contest in which he was destined to act a conspicuous, as well as a laborious part. His father, Benjamin Lincoln, was a maltster and farmer, in good circumstances, and a man much respected by his fellow-citizens, who repeatedly elected him, during times of no little political interest, the representative of Hingham in the general court, as the legislature was then usually termed. The young man enjoyed also, during the entire period of his early life, the eminent advantages implied in a good Massachusetts common school education; an opportunity of access to a considerable variety of books, and frequent leisure to read them; and especially, so far as his moral character was concerned, and upon that very much depended during his after life—in the exemplary, religious, orderly, and cheerful habits of his father's household.

Previous to the revolution, though his regular vocation was farming, and his robust constitution enabled him to pursue it with an industrious perseverance, he was several times called on to interest

himself in the civil and military affairs of the county and province. At the age of twenty-two, he was appointed an adjutant in the regiment of militia then commanded by his father, and not long afterwards major, under Colonel Josiah Quincy—Bernard being at that time governor. In 1772, Governor Hutchinson made him lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. He also sustained several of the town offices, and was elected its representative in the legislature.

When the disputes between the colonies and the mother country grew warm, he espoused the cause of the former, and supported it with energy and effect. This course brought him necessarily into political life, and in 1775, he was chosen a member of the provincial congress, which assembled at Cambridge and Watertown: that respectable body made him one of their secretaries, and a member of the important committee of correspondence who were instructed to communicate with the towns throughout the province, and with the other colonies, in relation to the critical circumstances of the times.

During this year he was not called into actual military service. On the memorable 19th of April, when blood was shed upon the plains of Lexington and Concord, he summoned the troops under his command to march to the scene of contest; but the rapid return of the British to the capital that same night, prevented the movement. The celerity with which the intelligence of this affair, we may here remark, travelled in all directions over the commonwealth and the continent, was perhaps till that time unexampled in colonial history. The writer has frequently conversed with a venerable citizen of Concord,* since deceased, then an artisan in the village, who, having at the first news of the approach of the enemy some time before day-break, commenced the voluntary labor of alarming the neighboring country, actually rode on horseback more than one hundred miles during the next twenty-four hours, in the performance of that duty—a task which, considering the condition of some of the roads he traversed, may be regarded as a feat worthy to be mentioned. This gentleman's wife and her young children had, meanwhile, deserted his house, and gone off to find security in the neighboring woods, with a large number of inhabitants situated like themselves.

Having been appointed by the council of Massachusetts a brigadier in February, 1776, and a major-general by the same authority,

* Mr. Reuben Brown.

in May of that same year, he employed himself industriously during the summer, in the exercise of the militia under his command. In August the council appointed him, by virtue of the supreme executive power reposed in their hands, to the control of all the troops of the state, doing duty at and about Boston; and the high opinio generally entertained of his ability and fidelity is still farther mani fested by the selection which the general court, in the following months, made of him as commander of the regiments to be raised by the state to reinforce the army of Washington in New York and New Jersey, which had now become the chief theatre of the war. Previous to leaving the environs of Boston, he had the honor of heading an expedition of provincial troops and volunteers, who succeeded in clearing the harbor of the last remnants of the enemy. Until the 13th of June, they remained about Nantasket, with a fifty gun-ship, and several other vessels. The general embarked at Long Wharf, with the view of dislodging this force; and having landed upon Long Island, made arrangements for a vigorous cannonade; but a few shots soon convinced the British commodore of his danger, and he hastily abandoned the Boston waters, never more to infest them. "Thus," in the language of the Journal of Dr. Thatcher, who was himself one of the party—"is the port again opened by our own authority, after being closed during two years by virtue of an act of the British parliament."

The acquaintance which the illustrious commander-in-chief of the American army had formed with LINCOLN, while at Cambridge, induced him to recommend the latter to the continental congress as an officer whose services it was desirable to secure in the federal line, and accordingly, in February, 1777, he was appointed by that honorable body a major-general of their forces. During the spring and summer of this year, he was intrusted by Washington with the command of divisions or detachments of the main army, and was frequently in situations which required the exercise of a high degree of military skill, though by no means fruitful in the means of brilliant distinction. The inferiority of the American force to that of the enemy, and the uncertainty of the operations of the latter, rendered the campaign a continual trial of vigilance and perseverance, much rather than of more imposing qualifications, on the part of the American generals.

On one occasion, notwithstanding all his caution, he was very near being surprised. He was at Bound Brook, on the Rariton, near the enemy, with a detachment of a few hundred men, appointed to

guard a line of some five or six miles. About day-break of the morning of April 13th, owing to the negligence of his patrols, he was suddenly assaulted by a large British party under Cornwallis and Grant. They had arrived within two hundred yards of his own quarters when discovered, and the general, with one of his aids, had hardly time to mount and leave the house before it was surrounded. The other aid, with the baggage and papers of the party, fell into the enemy's hands, as did also a few small pieces of artillery, while the general led off his troops between two columns of the British, who had nearly closed, and made good his retreat to the pass of the mountains near his encampment, with the loss of sixty killed and wounded.

The commander-in-chief on all occasions manifested great confidence in the talents and patriotism of LINCOLN, and with the view of turning these to the best account, he directed him, in July, to join the northern army under Schuyler, (afterwards Gates,) which was to oppose Burgoyne. "My principal view," said his letter to the general, "in sending you there, is to take command of the eastern militia, over whom, I am informed, you have influence, and who place confidence in you. I have this day received two letters from General Schuyler, *in such a style as convinces me that it is absolutely necessary to send a determined officer.*" This, for Washington, who was not a man of many compliments—was saying a good deal.

Having made his first station at Manchester, in Vermont, to form the militia as they came in from the northern sections of New England, and to operate in the rear of the enemy, LINCOLN soon distinguished his energy and good judgment advantageously by an expedition which he sent out on the 13th of September, under Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, to the landing at Lake George. The object was to release the American prisoners, and destroy the British stores, and this was effected completely by the capture of the fort and two hundred batteaux, with two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy's soldiers, and by the liberation of about one hundred American prisoners, while the loss of our party was only three killed and five wounded; an incident which contributed not a little to raise the spirits of the northern militia at this critical period.

After some other operations, LINCOLN joined the army of Gates, to whom he was second in command, and arrived in camp on the 29th September. Here he distinguished himself by his usual acti-

vity until after the warm engagement of the 7th October. The day succeeding that action, he had occasion to ride from one part of his line to another about a mile distant, and before his return the same route was taken by a party of the enemy. The general knowing that a number of the captured German uniforms had been placed on his own troops, mistook these soldiers for Americans, and came within reach of their fire before the mistake was discovered. They discharged a volley, and wounded him in the lower part of the leg so severely, that he apprehended for some weeks the loss of the limb. This disabled him, and he was removed, first to Albany, and thence to Hingham. He joined the army again in August of 1778, but suffered for several years from the effects of the wound.

In the course of this season, the reputation of LINCOLN induced the delegates in congress from South Carolina to request that body to appoint him to the command of the southern army, which he accordingly assumed, and reached Charleston in December. Here he was soon engaged in the bustle of an active campaign; for on the 25th of the month, he learned the arrival of the enemy's fleet at Tybee, and on the 29th, that they had effected a landing, routed the Americans under Howe, and gained Savannah. He immediately put his own forces in motion, while the enemy extended himself into Georgia; but was unable to commence offensive operations until the last of February. On the 2d of March, General Ashe was defeated at Brier Creek, and thus LINCOLN lost nearly a fourth part of his army. From this time until June, a variety of movements took place; but of an inconclusive character. On the 20th of that month he attacked the enemy at their works near Stono Ferry, and a very warm action ensued, in which nearly two hundred were killed and wounded on each side. The battle was bravely fought, but did not effect a decisive result. The general was on this occasion, after being without sleep the previous night, ten hours on horseback at one sitting. Both armies rested in their summer quarters till September, the enemy being at Savannah.

In the beginning of that month, Count D'Estaing arrived off the place just mentioned, with a considerable French force, and LINCOLN joined soon afterwards with one thousand men, though not in time to prevent the garrison being largely reinforced. A siege and bombardment ensued, which proving too slow an operation for D'Estaing's temperament, he determined on an assault. This occurred on the 9th of October, and was one of the bloodiest engagements of the whole southern war, but less successful than glorious. The

count reëmbarked his troops for the West Indies, and LINCOLN re-crossed the Savannah, and made his head-quarters at Charleston.

At this time he stated to congress his conviction, that the British would soon commence a more serious campaign in the southern department, with a view to its permanent acquisition, than either of the preceding had been; and he made an urgent call upon them for a supply of troops adequate to the approaching contest. He was accordingly reinforced, but not to a sufficient extent, and his little army was soon engaged in the defence of Charleston, where, on the 30th of March, General Clinton encamped in great strength, in front of the American lines. The works of the enemy were carried on industriously, so that on the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned to surrender. The second parallel was finished in ten days more, and another summons given and rejected on the 20th. A vigorous cannonade was kept up on either side for several days more. On the 23d, the third parallel was begun, from eighty to one hundred and fifty yards from our lines. Batteries were erected upon it, and a new summons issued on the 8th of May. On the 11th it was found necessary to capitulate, and the negotiation was concluded on the following day.

"Having received," says the general on this occasion, "an address from the principal inhabitants, and from a number of the country militia, desiring that I would accept the terms—and a request from the lieutenant-governor and council that the negotiations might be renewed,—our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted, the troops on the line being worn down by fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lie upon the banquette,—our harbor closely blocked up,—completely invested by land by *nine thousand men at least*, the flower of the British army in America; besides the large force they could always draw from their marine, and aided by a great number of blacks in their laborious employments;—the garrison at this time (exclusive of sailors) but little exceeding two thousand five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms,—the citizens in general discontented, the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land,—many of our cannon dismounted, and others silenced for want of shot,—a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely success cut off, we were induced to offer and accede to the terms executed on the 12th."

On the whole, it is generally conceded, that situated as General LINCOLN was during this campaign, with a force inadequate, not

only to any brilliant achievement, but to any effective defence, he "deserves great praise," in the language of Ramsey, "for his judicious and spirited conduct in baffling, for three months, the greatly superior force of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charleston and the southern army were lost, yet, by their long protracted defence, the British plans were not only retarded, but deranged, and North Carolina was saved for the remainder of the year 1780." Lee, in his memoirs, correctly remarks, that "so established was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of the congress, the army, and the commander-in-chief." His exertions and fatigue during this laborious campaign, were such as few constitutions would have been able to endure. He was on the lines night and day, and for the last fortnight never undressed to sleep.*

Being admitted to his parole, he returned in the summer to his residence in Hingham. In November following he was, to his great joy, exchanged for Major-General Phillips, and in the spring of 1781, he again joined the army of Washington, then occupying the high grounds bordering on the North River. The operations of the troops in this quarter, though important, are not sufficiently interesting to be detailed here. The crisis of the war, however, was approaching. All eyes began to be turned towards Virginia, and the armies of Lafayette and Cornwallis. The brilliant campaign which ensued in that state is familiar to the memory of all readers. General LINCOLN commanded a central division, during the siege of Yorktown, and had his full share in the honors of the splendid consummation in which it closed. He had the duty appointed him on this occasion, of conducting the conquered army to the field where their arms were deposited, and of receiving the customary submission. These were of course among the last of his revolutionary services.

On the last day of October, 1781, he was chosen by congress secretary of war, with power still to retain his military rank. He immediately entered on the duties of his new office, and continued in it for two years, when he resigned. Congress accepted his resignation with the following emphatic expression of regard:—

"Resolved, That the resignation of Major-General LINCOLN, as secretary at war for the United States, be accepted, in consideration of the earnest desire which he expresses, the objects of the war being

* Memoir in Massachusetts Historical Collection, Vol. III., Second Series.

so happily accomplished, to retire to private life; and that he be informed, that the United States, in congress assembled, entertain a high sense of his perseverance, fortitude, activity, and meritorious services in the field, as well as of his diligence, fidelity, and capacity in the execution of the office of secretary at war, which important trust he has discharged to their entire approbation."

For some years subsequent to this abandonment of the honors of public life, the general, in the true spirit of republican simplicity, not only *contented* but *indulged* himself in the favorite employments of his early life. Most of his time was spent on his native estate, but the government of the state still called him occasionally from his "dignified ease." He busied himself in treating with the Penobscot Indians once or twice, and was also induced to take command of the first division of the Massachusetts militia. At another period he busied himself in settling a tract of land in the district of Maine, one of the towns and counties in which state were honored with his own name.

The famous insurrection of Shays' breaking out in the beginning of 1787, summoned the veteran once more to the field. The rebels having gone so far as to obstruct the sessions of the court of justice with bodies of armed men, the governor and council appointed him to the command of the militia of the state, who were ordered out in a force of between four and five thousand. He began his march from Boston on the 20th of January, for Worcester, where, having protected the court in their session, he hastened to the relief of General Shepherd, at Springfield, where he had already engaged with Shays once, and routed him, though not with any conclusive success. The latter was now at Wilbraham, and his chief ally, Day, with another detachment of rebels at West Springfield. LINCOLN pursued and attacked the latter and put them to rout. Shays moved off to Amherst, and LINCOLN followed him; Shays fortified himself at Pelham, and LINCOLN sent an address to him, calling on him to disband his force, and submit to the government—agreeably to instructions he had received from the state. A correspondence ensued, but without effect; and Shays beginning to draw off again, LINCOLN still pursued him. During the night of February 2d, he marched in remarkably severe weather, to Petersham, the present encampment of the rebels, and there came upon them in the centre of the town, without giving them time to call in even their guards. About one hundred and fifty of them were taken, and the rest fled. Some other parties of rebels were broken up in other places, and the

insurrection thus terminated, the general himself, with two distinguished civilians, was appointed under a state commission to determine who should have the benefit of certain acts passed by the legislature for the exemption of some of the insurgents from trial; and having executed this delicate duty, early in the spring he returned again to his farm.

Here he was not permitted to remain long, for in April he was elected lieutenant-governor by the legislature; an office in which he was succeeded, however, the next year, by Samuel Adams, the candidate of the anti-federal party, which at this time had gained the ascendency.

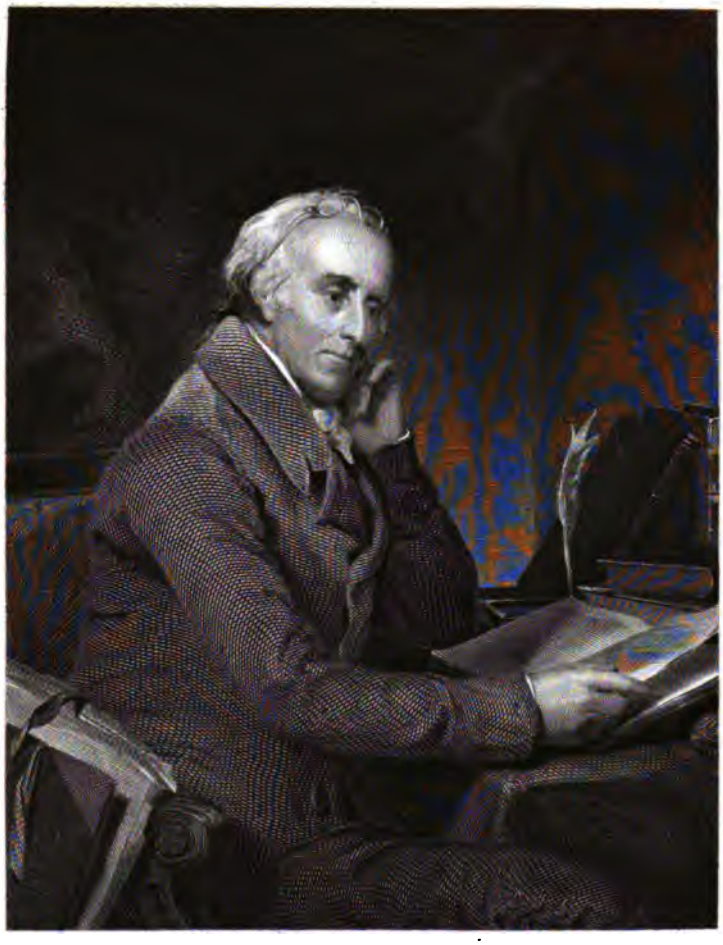
The general was a member of the convention which ratified the new constitution. After that event, in the summer of 1789, he was made collector of Boston; and that office he continued to hold till within two years of his death, when his earnest request to resign it was complied with, by Mr. Jefferson. In 1789 also, he was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Creek Indians; and in 1793, a commissioner with Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph of Virginia, to treat with the western tribes. In the latter years of his life, he interested himself occasionally in literary and scientific pursuits; and several essays, the result of this leisure, are to be found among the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in other works. As early as 1780, Harvard University had given him a degree of master of arts. He was subsequently one of the first members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and belonged to several other similar associations. His decease occurred after a short illness, on the 9th of May, 1810, at the age of seventy-seven years.

The bravery, energy, and indefatigable industry of General Lincoln, as a military officer, have never been denied, even by those who, at critical periods, doubted the policy of some of his movements during that unfortunate southern campaign, where he was left to contend single-handed against such fearful odds as have already been described. His courage, too, was unalloyed by rashness. It has been said that his perfect calmness in danger seemed like unconcern; but it was one of his own remarks, that he never was exposed without feeling deeply interested, as he was free to acknowledge, as well for his own life, as for that of the soldiers around him. He was humane as he was brave.

In private life few men have been more respected. He was a practical and rational Christian from his childhood up, and to his

practice joined also the profession of his principles, being during most of his life a communicant, and for many years a deacon in the church with which he worshipped. Amidst all the licentiousness of the army, no stain came upon his character, and no impurity fell from his lips. The warmth of his disposition was plainly perceptible in all his habits, in his liberal charity, his hospitality, his fondness for the company of the young, his constancy in friendship, and the pleasure which he communicated, through the medium of agreeable manners and lively conversation, in the intercourse of domestic and social life. With the wife of his youth he lived in great conjugal happiness more than fifty-five years, and had by her a number of sons and daughters, among whom it gave him pleasure to distribute a considerable part of his handsome property on two occasions previous to his decease.

General LINCOLN was of middle height, remarkably broad-chested, muscular, in his latter years corpulent, with open intelligent features, and a countenance distinguished by its benignant aspect. The author of "Familiar Letters on Public Characters and Events," years ago published at Boston, says "his hair was combed back from his forehead unpowdered, and gathered in a long queue. He was usually dressed in a blue coat and light under clothes, and wore a cocked hat. He always appeared in boots, in consequence of the deformity of his left leg, occasioned by his wound at Saratoga." This writer remarks upon a peculiarity of the general's constitution, which is well recollected by many other individuals now living; his remarkable *somnolency;* this overcame him to such an extent, that he would fall into a sound sleep at table, and when driving nimself in a chaise; and it is related, that when he commanded the militia against the insurgents, he dictated despatches, and slept between the sentences; for his sleep rarely appeared to disturb his perceptions of the circumstances passing around him. "This he considered an infirmity, and his friends never ventured to speak to him of it."



Engraved by R. W. Loudon from a Painting by T. Sully in Possession of Richard Rush Esq.r

BENJAMIN RUSH, M.D.

Benjamin Rush

BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.

BENJAMIN RUSH was born on his father's farm, in Byberry township, Philadelphia county, on the 24th day of December, 1745. His great-grandfather, John Rush, commanded a troop of horse in the army of Oliver Cromwell, and on the restoration of the monarchy, emigrated to Pennsylvania, in 1683. He had been personally known to the Protector. One day, seeing his horse come into the camp without him, Cromwell supposed he had been killed, and lamented him, by saying "he had not left a better officer behind him." The Bible, watch, and sword, which he owned, are still in the possession of his descendants in Pennsylvania. He settled on the farm already mentioned, and died at the age of about eighty. No lengthened account of the parentage of Dr. RUSH, is deemed necessary to a brief narrative like the present. His ancestors were plain and peaceful farmers, known in their neighborhood for their integrity and industry. Having lost his father, John Rush, in his early childhood, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, whose strength of mind and good principles proved fully adequate to the trust. His veneration for this parent knew no intermission during her long life. She died under his roof at the age of eighty; and of the illustrious individuals whom she lived to see that roof often shelter, none received from its owner more constant kindness and scrupulous attention than herself. To the judicious care she bestowed on him in his youth, he always attributed the useful aims and the many blessings of his life. Having been taught by her the rudiments of the English language, she sent him, at the age of nine years, to a grammar-school at Nottingham, in Maryland, at that time under the direction of her sister's husband, the Rev. Dr. Finley, afterwards president of the college at Princeton, in New Jersey. Here he rapidly advanced in the studies prescribed to him; and from the pious precepts and example of his instructer, and, perhaps, the primitive innocence of the secluded country in which he lived, he imbibed in childhood that veneration for religion which he cherished to the end of his days.

Having finished his preparatory course of the Latin and Greek languages, he was sent in the fourteenth year of his age to Princeton college, then under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Davies, a man distinguished for his piety and uncommon eloquence. He received at this institution the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1760, before he had completed his fifteenth year. He next commenced the study of medicine in Philadelphia, under the direction of Dr. John Redman, an eminent physician, who was a kind and useful instructer to him, and whose attention he requited by faithful and untiring service. He relates, himself, that during the whole of the six years of his pupilage under Dr. Redman, he could enumerate not more than two days of interruption from business. This was an earnest of that regularity and indefatigable application which characterized his whole life. During the period of his apprenticeship, he studied with eager attention the writings of Hippocrates, Sydenham, and Boerhave, and translated the aphorisms of the former, from Greek into English. He also began to keep a note-book of remarkable occurrences, the plan of which he afterwards improved and continued through life. From a part of this record, written in the seventeenth year of his age, is derived the only account of the yellow fever, as it appeared in Philadelphia, in 1762, which has descended to posterity.

In 1766, having passed through the elementary studies in medicine, and being intent on acquiring further advantages for his destined profession, he went to Edinburgh, at that time the most esteemed medical school of Europe, where, after attending for two years the public lectures and hospitals in that capital, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. His thesis, by the custom of the school, was written in the Latin language, and its title was "*De concoctione ciborum in ventriculo.*" He adventured, in his own person, several experiments in support of his arguments, both revolting and perilous. These arguments displayed abilities rare even among the distinguished pupils and rivals by whom he was surrounded. The style was correct and elegant; Dr. Ramsay,* who was among the best classical scholars of our country, and who knew Dr. RUSH well, says, of this thesis, that "it was written in classical Latin," and adds, "I

* In the present sketch of the life of Dr. RUSH, we are indebted to Dr. Ramsay's Eulogium upon him, as well as to the memoir of him in the Biography of the signers to the Declaration of Independence, for various details which those excellent productions have made familiar to the public; in several instances, the phraseology of their recitals has been necessarily and willingly adopted.

have reason to believe without the help of a *grinder*, (teachers of Latin, then frequently employed for such purposes,) for it bears the characteristic marks of the peculiar style of its author." We are somewhat minute on this point, because it is connected with another, often referred to in Dr. RUSH'S history—his alleged disparagement of the learned languages. He ranked them among the general accomplishments of a liberal education; and having, according to his ingenious and forcible essay upon the subject, spent too many years in their acquisition, he continued in after life his familiarity with them, perhaps from the desire, by which he happily says in the same essay men are sometimes influenced, of reviving, by reading the classics, the agreeable ideas of the early and innocent part of their lives. Dr. RUSH'S objections to the engrossing instruction of youth in the Latin and Greek languages, have been often and elaborately questioned; but whilst his arguments upon the subject continue to be read, their vigor, and fertility in illustration, will always be impressive to the candid, if they convince not the opposing reader.

Whilst a student at Edinburgh, Dr. RUSH was commissioned by the trustees of Princeton college, to negotiate with Dr. Witherspoon, of Paisley, in Scotland, his acceptance of the presidency of their institution. His efforts and address in the fulfilment of this trust, were successful; he gained in Dr. Witherspoon a constant friend, and for the college, the advantage of a principal eminent in science and literature. He was, whilst in Scotland, ardent in his pursuit of knowledge; and was careful and fortunate in making friends, who improved his mind, and strengthened his virtues. An accidental acquaintance, formed whilst attending the same medical class with the eldest son of the earl of Leven, made him an approved intimate in the family of that pious and respected peer. The letters written in after years by this individual and the different members of his family to Dr. RUSH, prove the uncommon and affectionate impression he made upon them. We allude to this intimacy, because, though anticipating a little the order of our narrative, it is connected with an interesting incident in the life of Dr. RUSH. It happened to him a few years after, and during the war of the American revolution, to recognise among the British officers slain on the battle-field at Princeton, the dead body of one of the sons of this earl of Leven, the Honorable Captain William Leslie, who, in common with his elder brother, had shared Dr. RUSH'S fond regard whilst at Edinburgh. On the person of the deceased officer was found a letter to Dr. RUSH, who, being then in the medical staff of General Washington, was the first

to discover his deceased friend among the slaughtered of the vanquished enemy. Dr. RUSH had Captain Leslie's remains conveyed to Pluckamin, in New Jersey, where he gave them an honorable grave and a recording tomb. A few years ago, a friend of the family of this officer came to this country, on purpose to erect a befitting monument to his memory; "but when he reached his grave, he saw," says a modern British publication, wherein further interesting details of the occurrence are given, that "the work was *already done.* Believing that no monument he could erect, no honors he could pay, would be equal to those rendered by the spontaneous act of a generous foe—nothing remained but to drop a tear to the memory of the unfortunate Leslie, and another of gratitude to his generous eulogist."

From Edinburgh, Dr. RUSH went to London, where he passed the winter of 1768, attending the hospitals and medical lectures of that metropolis. Dr. Letsome of Great Britain, in his "Recollections of Dr. RUSH," relates an anecdote of him whilst in London, which is creditable to his fervor of patriotism and vigor of speech; it is in the following words: "At that time there was generating great commotion in the American colonies, and a disposition to revolt from the mother country was very generally manifested. In London, several disputing societies were formed for the discussion of the question of the propriety of American resistance. A political orator warmly inveighed against the spirit of what was deemed rebellion, and observed, that "if the Americans possessed cannon, they had not even a ball to fire." These reflections called up Dr. RUSH, (then a student of medicine in London,) who said in his reply, that "if the Americans possessed no cannon balls, they could supply the deficiency by digging up the *skulls* of those ancestors who had courted expatriation from the old hemisphere, under the vivid hope of enjoying more ample freedom in the new."

The succeeding summer he devoted to his improvement in Paris, and returned, in the autumn of the same year, to his native country. He fixed his residence at Philadelphia, and at once began the practice of his profession, where he was soon established in business as a physician.

In 1769, he was elected professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia. In 1789, he succeeded in the same institution to the chair of the theory and practice of medicine, vacated by the death of Dr. John Morgan. In 1791, the college having been elevated to the University of Pennsylvania, he was elected in this latter establishment professor of the institutes and practice of medicine and of clinical

practice. In 1796, he received, on the resignation of Dr. Kuhn, the additional professorship of the practice of physic, which he held with the two preceding branches, though they required much laborious application, until the end of his life.

As a lecturer, Dr. RUSH's manner was most agreeable and impressive. His talent for public speaking enabled him, by frequent extemporaneous elucidation, to relieve and enliven the details of the science which he taught. His lectures were nightly retouched and enhanced from the full stores of his observation and retentive memory. The zealous student hung on his accents whilst he spoke; and the loiterer was accustomed to watch for his varieties, his fervor, and his persuasiveness. When Dr. RUSH began to lecture in the University of Pennsylvania, his medical class in that institution consisted of about twenty students: in the winter of 1812–13, at the last course he delivered, they amounted to four hundred and thirty. It is estimated that during his life he had given instruction to more than two thousand pupils, who propagated his principles and improvements in the science of medicine throughout the United States, and, in a few instances, to South America, the West Indies, and Europe. He was for many years one of the physicians of the Pennsylvania hospital, and contributed much to the usefulness of that institution, by his wise suggestions and ardent exertions in its behalf.

The medical career of Dr. RUSH was like that of other successful practitioners, until the appearance of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1793. This event exhibits the most busy scene of his professional life; by its trials, he acquired his most valuable reputation. This disease, as we have already remarked, appeared in Philadelphia, in 1762, and returned after a lapse of thirty-one years with frightful violence and fatality. It commenced the first week in August, and ended towards the close of October. The city was deserted by nearly all those whom wealth or health enabled to flee. The rank grass sprung up from the untrodden pavements; and the dying crawled from their sick-beds, and breathed their last in vain implorations after their abandoning kindred and friends. Dr. RUSH was among those who staid to witness and to help in this awful calamity; and in one of the volumes of his lectures, has given a deeply interesting account of it. At one time, when not less than six thousand persons were prostrated with the disease, three practitioners only remained to administer to their necessities. From the 8th to the 15th of September, he visited and prescribed for about one hundred and twenty patients daily. His house was thronged by multitudes imploring his

assistance. He was constrained by more pressing duty to fly himself from many of these, and even to drive through the streets with such speed as might secure him from interruption, or place him beyond the cries of his wretched petitioners. His sense of duty, his charity, and the force of that precept which he often used to inculcate in his lectures, "to dispute every inch of ground with death," were the incentives to his fearless conduct during that memorable pestilence. Had the love of pecuniary gain actuated him, the wealth he might have amassed from known instances of its offers, is almost incalculable. An opulent citizen tendered him a deed for one of his best houses in Market street, if he would attend his son who was lying ill. A captain of a vessel once took from his purse twenty pounds, offering them to him if he would pay his wife a single visit. A patient whom he had cured, directed, in his first feelings of gratitude, his desk to be opened, in which large sums were heaped, requesting that he would take a part or, if he pleased, the whole as his compensation. It need scarcely be added, that where it was in his power to attend the patient, he would only receive his regular professional charge. When the illustrious Zimmerman heard of the services of Dr. Rush during the yellow fever of '93, he wrote to a friend this enthusiastic praise: "*Sa conduite a mérité que non seulement la ville de Philadelphie, mais l'humanité entière, lui élève une statue.*" But Dr. Rush, himself, artlessly gave the best encomium on his services at this period, *in a dream.* Its moral makes it worthy of record, and calls to mind the classic authority of the divine origin of such visions. He was attacked with this same epidemic, and his life was despaired of; he providentially recovered, and whilst convalescent, told a friend who was watching at his bed-side, that he thought in the sleep from which he had just awoke, a vast crowd of persons assembled before his front door, and besought him to come and visit their respective sick friends. True to his impressions from previous and trying days, he dreamed that he resisted their intreaties, and somewhat impatiently was about to turn from them and hurry into his carriage, when a poor woman ran forward to him, and, with outstretched hands, said, "O doctor! don't turn away from the poor! You were doomed to die of the yellow fever; but the prayers of the poor were heard by heaven, and have saved your life!" This dream may have increased his fondness for Boerhave's immortal sentiment, that "the poor were his best patients, for God was their paymaster."

The services of Dr. Rush, before and during the war of the revolution, were conspicuous and valuable. He wrote indefatigably in favor

of American independence; and, along with John Adams, he persuaded Thomas Paine to undertake with his pen the defence of the colonies. He suggested to Paine the words "Common Sense," as the title of his first political paper. In June, 1776, he was a member of the provincial conference which met in Philadelphia, and on the 23d of that month moved the appointment of a committee to draft an address expressive of the sense of the conference respecting the independence of the American colonies. Dr. RUSH, who, with James Smith and Thomas M'Kean, had been appointed for this purpose, the next day reported a declaration, which was adopted in the conference, and presented to the American congress the day after. This declaration, similar even in its phraseology, anticipated almost the whole of the Declaration of Independence. It may be found, together with the preceding facts, in the first volume of the Journal of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania. Immediately after this, he was chosen a member of the American congress of '76, and on the 4th day of July, in that year, signed the memorable charter of his country's freedom.

In 1777, he was appointed for the middle department, physician-general of the military hospitals; and, as such, attended his wounded countrymen at the battles of Princeton and Brandywine. In 1787, he was a member of the convention of Pennsylvania for the adoption of the federal constitution. In a letter to a friend in a distant state, dated in October of the same year, he says, "The new federal government will be adopted by our state. It is a masterpiece of human wisdom, and happily accommodated to the present state of society. I now look forward to a golden age. The new constitution realizes every hope of the patriot, and rewards every toil of the hero. My fellow-citizens insist on putting me in the state convention, which will meet on the last Tuesday in next month. Will my mind bear such numerous, complicated, and opposite studies and occupations? I love my country ardently, and have not been idle in promoting her interests during the session of the convention. Every thing published in all our papers, except 'The Foreign Spectator,' during the whole summer, was the effusion of my federal principles. Since the convention has risen, I have been followed by many writers who have great merit. I enclose you some of my paragraphs from Hall and Seller's paper, to be republished in your state." When this convention adjourned, and the plan of the federal constitution was published, he was actively engaged at frequent meetings with the members of the legislature, in fixing the outlines of a new form of state government.

After the establishment of the federal government, he withdrew altogether from public life and political occupations; devoting himself exclusively to the duties of his profession, its cheerful studies, and its social services. Although the history of his country, and the brief allusion we have made to it, enrol Dr. RUSH amongst its pure and efficient patriots, it is as a skilful, humane, and accomplished healer of diseases, that he is to this day most vividly remembered; it is as a medical and moral writer, who so often "adorned" what he "touched," that his memory comes frequently and gratefully to an after age.

Dr. RUSH was a public writer for forty-nine years, from the nineteenth to the sixty-eighth year of his age and a public teacher of medicine, from the age of twenty-four, to the end of his life. The brief limit of his present biography, allows but a general notice of the system of medicine which he taught. It differed materially from those of Hoffman, Cullen, and Brown. His chief medical principle was to attend to the state of the system, under every circumstance of age, idiosyncrasy, epidemic, and climate, and prescribe accordingly. He rejected the nosological classification of diseases, upon the ground that they comprehended under their nomenclature an aggregate of variable phenomena, for which remedies varying according to the symptoms of the patient, rather than uniform rules of practice, were to be preferred. He was assured of the efficacy of this system, by an experience, which, in extensive and successful contention with disease, could not have been surpassed. Time, with its proverbial discernment, has adopted his improvements in medicine as familiar truths, and rewards him who taught them with its lasting honor. He also first believed in and promulgated the domestic origin of the yellow fever, a doctrine greatly opposed by his medical contemporaries, and the community in which he lived. Time, in this instance also, has affixed to his opinion the seal of its practical truth. Dr. Chirvin, who, by the direction of the French government, lately collected the opinions of the medical profession in America as to the contagion of the yellow fever, ascertained the ratio of non-contagionists to be five hundred and sixty-seven, to twenty-eight contagionists.

The space allotted to the present biographical notice of Dr. RUSH, will not allow a full enumeration of his printed works. The principal of these are, Medical Inquiries and Observations, in four volumes; a volume of Essays, literary, moral, and philosophical; a volume of Lectures, introductory, for the most part, to his course of lectures on the institutes and practice of medicine. He wrote an Inquiry into the effect of public punishments upon criminals and upon society; and

soon afterwards, an Essay on the consistency of capital punishments with reason and revelation. His "Inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the body and mind," is written with all the force of his genius and knowledge. It was published in the form of a pamphlet, and distributed gratuitously among the poor. "Except," says one of his biographers, "Dr. Franklin's Way to Wealth, no small publication ever had a more extensive circulation, or did more good." His Essay on the influence of physical causes on the moral faculty, "has been," says the same authority, "universally admired as one of the most profound productions of modern times." The last work of Dr. RUSH was "Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind," "which," it has been said, "were all his other writings lost, would keep alive the memory of his usefulness." It has been pronounced "at once a metaphysical treatise on human understanding; a physiological theory of organic and thinking life; a book of the best maxims to promote wisdom and happiness; in fine, a collection of classical, polite, poetical, and sound literature." He received, during his life, various testimonials of his meritorious services. The board of health of Philadelphia, gave him a massive piece of plate for his gratuitous attendance on the poor, during the epidemic of 1793. In 1805, he received from the king of Prussia a gold medal for his replies to queries on the yellow fever. In 1807, the queen of Etruria presented him with a similar medal for a paper upon the same subject, written at her request. In 1811, he received a diamond ring of great value from the emperor of Russia, as a proof of that monarch's estimation of his medical character and writings. Through the cordiality of a friend, the latter gift was noticed with approbation in the newspapers of the day, and it is remembered that its notoriety gave positive annoyance to the honored and modest subject of it. He was a member of many foreign literary and scientific societies; and for the last sixteen years of his life, was treasurer of the mint of the United States.

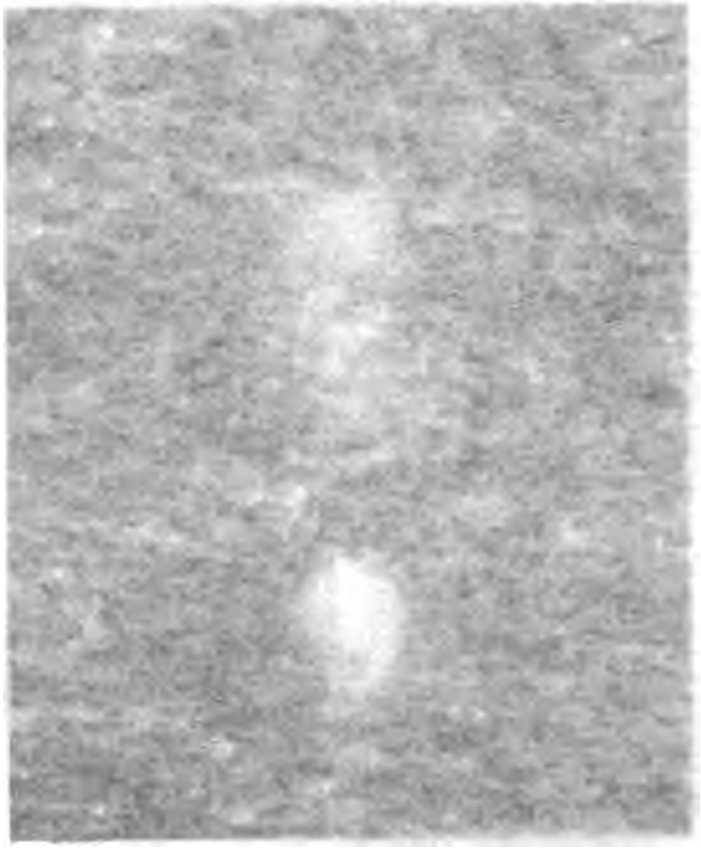
Dr. RUSH's social qualities were founded in the kindness of his heart, and brightened by the polish that his intellect was constantly receiving. The sick found in him their friend and enlivener, as well as their physician. Superior minds sought him for pleasure and for profit. And at the mind of his inferiors, he hesitated not to knock for admission; for all of these, he believed, had something within, however small, that was worth his surveying. He was prompt to discern and assist the efforts of struggling merit, and was emphatically *the friend of young men.* His religious principles were practical and fervent, they were fostered by the purity and humility of his

heart, in deeds of kindness and "good will to men," and in unabating reverence to the word and the ministers of God. To a friend who once asked him if he was not almost tired of promoting new societies he replied, "there is *one more*, I wish to see established, and that is a *Bible Society*." The term was practically unknown in this country, when he thus used it.

In January, 1776, he was married to Julia, the eldest daughter of Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, a member of the American congress of that year. The father and son-in-law were soon doubly united by the enduring national instrument to which they both set their names. Of this marriage, a widow and large family survived him.

Dr. RUSH, in person, was above the middle size, slender, and well proportioned. His forehead was prominent and finely shaped, his eyes blue and very expressive; the rest of his features were regular and comely. All his biographers have described his appearance as dignified and pleasing.

In the undiminished vigor of his mental faculties,—in the fullest season of his activity, prosperity, and value,—he was seized with an epidemic, termed typhus fever, then prevalent in Philadelphia, and died in that city, after a few days' illness, on the 19th of April, 1813, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The community regretted his death as a public and serious loss; and the poor—they who had always been his care, and whom he remembered in his dying words—pressed into his house to touch his coffin ere it was laid in the earth. He was buried in the Christ Church graveyard, where a plain tomb marks the place of sepulture of the man who said, in one of his lectures, "Medicine without principles, is an humble art, and a degrading profession. It reduces the physician to a level with the cook and the nurse, who administer to the appetites and the weakness of sick people. But directed by principles, it imparts the highest elevation to the intellectual and moral condition of man. In spite, therefore, of the obloquy with which they have been treated, let us resolve to cultivate them as long as we live. This, gentlemen, is my determination as long as I am able to totter to this chair; and if a tombstone be afforded after my death to rescue my humble name for a few years from oblivion, I ask no further addition to it, than that 'I was an advocate for principles in medicine.'"



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John Tyler

JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER was the tenth president of the United States, and the sixth occupant of that high office born in the Old Dominion.

The father of the subject of our present biography (and bearing the same name) distinguished himself in the period of the Revolution as an ardent patriot, and was intimately associated with Henry, Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, and other eminent men of that day. He was from an early day of the war of Independence a member of the house of delegates of Virginia, bearing at all times a prominent part in its deliberations, and in 1781 was elected the speaker of the house, which place he continued to fill by repeated reëlections until the close of the war. After having filled other important stations, among which was a seat in the highest judicial tribunal of the state, he was in the year 1808 elected governor of the commonwealth, to which office he was twice reëlected. A vacancy having occurred on the bench of the United States district court, he was appointed to the seat by President Madison, which he occupied until his death in 1813. The legislature being in session at the time, and regarding his death as a public calamity, passed resolutions expressive of its sorrow, and clothed itself in mourning.

JOHN TYLER was born in Charles City, in the county of that name, Virginia, May 29, 1790. He was the second of three sons who survived their father. His school-boy days were remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary love of books, especially those of history. At the early age of twelve years he entered the college of William and Mary, where he attracted the attention of Bishop Madison, the venerable president of that institution, whose warmest friendship he enjoyed till death effected a separation between them. Nor was he less the object of the friendship and esteem of his fellow-collegians. At seventeen he took his degree, and on that occasion delivered an address on "Female Education," which the faculty pronounced the best commencement oration delivered there within their recollection.

On leaving college, JOHN TYLER devoted himself to the study of

law, on which indeed he had entered during his collegiate course. He passed two years in reading, partly with his father, and partly with Edmund Randolph, formerly governor of Virginia, and one of the most eminent lawyers of the state. His progress in the law, as in all his other studies, was rapid, and his acquisitions solid. He soon obtained a very extensive practice.

Scarcely had he reached the age of twenty-one, when he was almost unanimously elected by the people of his native county to represent them in the state legislature. He took his seat in that body in December, 1811, and soon showed himself zealous in advancing the interests of his constituents, and of that ancient commonwealth. The breaking out of the war with Great Britain soon after, gave full scope for his oratorical powers, which he often employed with a view to their improvement. Here he showed himself an ardent lover of his country, zealously opposed to the conduct of Great Britain, and a firm advocate of the principles which had elevated Mr. Madison to the presidency.

During the five successive years which Mr. TYLER served his county in the legislature, he often manifested great powers of eloquence. The last year of his membership of the house of delegates, he was elected a member of the executive council. He continued to act in that capacity until November, 1816, when, by the death of the Hon. John Clopton, a vacancy occurred in the representation in congress from the Richmond district. The contest, which was a very severe one, was between Mr. Stevenson, afterwards minister to England, and then speaker of the house of delegates, and Mr. TYLER. It was merely a trial of personal popularity, as the candidates concurred in political principle; and when Mr. TYLER retired from congress, he warmly advocated the election of Mr. Stevenson to that responsible station. At the period of his taking his seat in the house of representatives, Mr. TYLER had but reached his twenty-sixth year—an age at which it has been the lot of very few to be elevated to a station of as high trust and importance as a representative in the congress of the United States. But habits which, from boyhood, had led to the development of his talents—the lessons of a patriot father—constant employment in public office, and a character for ability, energy, and honesty of purpose—gave ample earnest of the manner in which his duties would be fulfilled. His diffidence in the outset of his congressional career was great, but by degrees he took a part in all the prominent questions of that day, and more than satisfied his constituents, who, by an increased majority, in 1819 again sent him to Wash-

ington, where he remained till 1821, when increasing ill health compelled him to leave his seat, and for a time seriously threatened his life.

Mr. TYLER left the house of representatives, carrying with him the respect of all who knew him. After five years of faithful service as a representative of one of the most respectable districts of Virginia, he could look back with satisfaction on his course, discovering not one act in his political career which he had reason to regret. On nearly all the great subjects which had agitated congress during that period he had occupied a prominent position. Against the Bank of the United States, which, in some shape or other, had come before the house at nearly every session, he waged unceasing war, as an institution most dangerous to the best interests of the community, and certain, one day, to use its tremendous power with a deleterious effect upon the elections of the country, and declaring at every suitable opportunity his unalterable convictions of the unconstitutionality of its creation. He was firm in his opposition to every wild scheme of innovation upon established principles, and watchful against all attempts to turn the current of public expenditure from its legitimate course; and the unflinching advocate of national economy, though always liberal when public justice would sanction such a course.

With broken health and shattered constitution Mr. TYLER returned to his farm, in Charles City county, happy that nothing but physical inability had compelled him to leave the public service. He soon rejoiced in improved health, and in the spring of 1823 was requested again to become a candidate for the legislature, and with very little opposition he was returned to the scene of his former usefulness. But he was not allowed long to remain there, for in December, 1825, the office of governor of Virginia was conferred upon him without solicitation. In this station he devoted himself to the development of the resources of the state, to the maintenance of her laws and constitution, and to those political principles with which her renown is identified.

The year 1826 was marked by an event which threw the whole nation into mourning—the deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. That two of the three only survivors of the signers of the Declaration of Independence should breathe their last on the same day, and that day the anniversary of the promulgation of that great paper, was a remarkable coincidence, to which history has no parallel. Mr. Jefferson died at Monticello, just fifty years after the declaration, on the very day, and, it is said, the very hour, at which that immortal work of his hands was read in the congress of the United States. Governor

TYLER was requested to deliver at Richmond a funeral oration, with which request he complied, one week after the death of that illustrious man.

Such was the satisfactory manner in which Governor TYLER discharged the first term of his office, that he was reëlected by an unanimous vote. He was not long destined to occupy this position, for a few days after his reëlection the expiration of the term for which Mr. John Randolph had been elected senator in congress arrived, and against his strongly expressed wish to the contrary, Mr. TYLER was elected his successor. To such a choice on the part of the legislature he deemed it his duty to accede, and took his seat in the senate December 3, 1827, where he at once arrayed himself with the opposition. In 1833 he was again elected, and in the following year was elected president *pro tempore* of the senate. During the session of 1835–36, as he conscientiously objected to some instructions he received from the legislature of Virginia, and could not vote according to their wishes, he resigned, thus surrendering three unexpired years of his term. Such an act of devotion to the great principle of representative responsibility deserves to be recorded both for its rarity and its magnanimity.

The different course of conduct pursued by Mr. Leigh, the colleague of Mr. TYLER, was the subject of much comment throughout the United States. Mr. Leigh, in reply to the call upon him, wrote a very long and ingenious letter, in which he took the distinction between the obligation of a representative to obey instruction in all cases where no constitutional point was involved, and that which he contended existed where well-founded doubt arose as to the constitutionality of particular measures; in which latter cases he insisted, that the representative was not bound to obey, and to do an act which would be a violation of the constitution he was sworn to support. Mr. Leigh, for these reasons, refused to obey the instructions or then to resign his seat, which, however, he did resign in 1836. Mr. TYLER stated to the people of his state, and to the public generally, in his letter of resignation to the legislature of Virginia, the principles by which his conduct as a public man had been governed, and the motives which led to his immediate resignation. He at the same time placed in the hands of Mr. Van Buren, then vice-president of the United States, and president of the senate, a letter informing the senate that he had resigned into the hands of the general assembly of Virginia his seat as a senator from that state.

Relieved from all political anxieties, Mr. TYLER joyfully returned

to his farm and his profession. By public dinners, and in every other form, he was made acquainted with the satisfaction his conduct had given to his countrymen. His affairs, thrown into disorder by the neglect of his personal interests during the time he had served in congress, required his attention, and he gladly hailed a return to private life, that he might be enabled in some measure to restore them. The anxieties, labors, and fatigues of public employment had no longer any charm. At the age of forty-six he had run a brilliant career in the state and national councils; and, after twenty-five years of service, during which he had devoted himself faithfully and untiringly to advance the public welfare, he looked forward with great delight to a period of repose. No spot or blemish had attached itself to his political fame—no discontent or dissatisfaction had been created by the manner in which he had discharged his political duties; and happy in the consciousness of having served the people who had entrusted him with their confidence with honesty, fidelity, and to the best of his ability, he was well content again to enter on more peaceful walks. In his retirement, however, he was not permitted to remain unsolicited. Shortly after his return to Virginia, he was selected as the vice-presidential candidate, with Hugh Lawson White as president. No election of vice-president having been made by the people on this occasion, the senate elected Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

He was not suffered long to remain inactive; for, in 1838, having removed to Williamsburg for the better education of his children, and the citizens of James City and York counties having elected him to the post, he again consented to serve in the legislature of Virginia; and during the subsequent session he would again have been returned to the senate of the United States, but for the unfortunate dissension which at that time prevailed in the republican party in Virginia. In 1839, he was nominated by the Harrisburg convention as vice-president of the United States, having General W. H. Harrison for his chief.

The speeches, letters, and declarations of Mr. Tyler during the political canvas of the year 1840, seem to have been deemed entirely in accordance with the views of the Whig party, and no doubt was then entertained that he would coöperate with General Harrison, and aid in carrying out their designs and wishes in the event of an election then confidently expected. It is well known that the Whigs were completely successful; and their triumph made General Harrison President of the United States, Mr. Tyler Vice-President, and secured a Whig majority in the house of representatives and senate of the

United States. It has been asserted, however, with great confidence that Mr. TYLER miscalculated his ability to unite himself to, and act with the Whig party, and mistook, therefore, his position in accepting their nomination for one of the highest offices in the nation, the result of which, upon the death of President Harrison, placed him in the presidential chair, invested with all the patronage and power of that high station. The Whigs also, it has been asserted, evidently acted without due caution in his nomination. From these causes arose embarrassment, difficulty, and loss of popularity with both the great parties of the nation, to the President, and to the Whigs, bitter disappointment and chagrin.

The day of the inauguration arrived, and on the 4th of March, 1841, President Harrison delivered his inaugural address, and took the oath of office, in the presence of the largest assemblage which had ever been collected in the federal city. In the senate chamber the vice-president elect appeared, took the prescribed oath, and assumed his place as president of the senate. On the 17th of the same month President Harrison issued his proclamation, calling upon congress to convene on the 31st of May following, for the consideration of "sundry important and weighty matters, principally growing out of the condition of the revenue and finances of the country." An all-wise Providence, however, decreed that before that day arrived he should be laid in the tomb. The president had entered on the duties of his high office with a zeal and earnestness which a frame, exhausted not alone by the cares of a long life spent in various laborious public services, but by the fatigues of a triumphant campaign, was hardly capable of sustaining. His incessant labors, caused chiefly by those who were intent on office, as the reward of their efforts, shattered his health, and on the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration, he died.

For the first time in the annals of our country, a chief magistrate died while occupying the presidential chair, and the wisdom and stability of our institutions were to be submitted to a new test. The cabinet immediately dispatched a letter, by a special messenger, to Mr. TYLER, at Williamsburg, Virginia, and on the 6th of that month he arrived at the seat of government, and took the oath of office as President of the United States.

The circumstances under which he had been called on to assume the high office which now devolved upon him, without the opportunity for that preparation to execute its duties which is secured to one who succeeds to the presidency by immediate election, subjected him to disadvantages such as no former chief magistrate had ever had to

encounter. Such a position would try the strength of any man, but Mr. TYLER showed that he was at no loss as to the steps he should pursue. He at once issued an address to the people, asserting principles coincident with those of Mr. Jefferson, and reasserting the purpose expressed by Mr. Madison in his inaugural, "To hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authority; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system." This, it was seen, was the doctrine, though not the language, and loud were the commendations which the address received throughout the land.

It is no part of the plan of THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY to discuss the politics of parties, or to express an opinion as to which of the contending classes was right. Certain it is, that at the time neither one or the other of the two great political schools were satisfied. The president contended that the people had declared against the Bank, and the financial schemes of the two preceding administrations, while those opposed to him asserted the contrary. The dissolution of cabinets, the issuing of vetoes, and the expressions, in various ways, of public opinion, followed each other, till the period of his presidency expired.

Thus have we reported the chief facts connected with the public life of JOHN TYLER; and while abstaining in this, as in all other cases, from any expression of party politics, it must be conceded that connected with his presidency occurred the most anomalous and extraordinary events. On the death of General Harrison, Mr. TYLER was raised by the operation of a fundamental law to the chief magistracy of the Republic, and from that hour was deserted by his professedly warmest friends. Those who shouted hozannas in praise of his political views, threw in the way of his executive acts every legislative obstacle which could be devised, and even the cabinet deserted him at a crisis of great importance. On the other hand, after the negotiation of many years, he obtained a final settlement of our claims on Mexico for her spoliations on our commerce, ended triumphantly the war in Florida, honorably and advantageously arranged our differences with Great Britain, preserved all our foreign relations on the most desirable footing, conducted to completion the negotiations for the annexation of Texas, diminished by millions the annual expenses of the government, and left the country, when he resigned the presidential chair, in a state of full credit and confidence. Time will declare the position in

which he shall stand before posterity. One thing is certain, that the fears of many as to the destruction of national happiness are not likely to be realized, nor are we at all afraid that the people of this land, will ever elect either a legislative or an executive officer who will lead the United States of America to ruin.

Mr. TYLER married in 1813, Miss Letitia Christian, the daughter of Robert Christian, Esq., of New Kent county, Virginia, a lady esteemed for her many virtues and excellent conduct in all the relations of life. She died on the 10th of September, 1842, at Washington, leaving six children. On the 26th of June, 1844, president TYLER was married, at New York, to Miss Julia Gardiner, daughter of David Gardiner Esq., of that city, a gentleman who perished, with several distinguished persons, by a disastrous explosion on board the United States steamship Princeton, in February, 1844.

In 1845, Mr. TYLER's term of office expired, and since that time he has chiefly lived in retirement, at his seat, Sherwood Forest, Charles City county, Virginia. Arrived at an age which usually seeks repose, it is scarcely probable that he will again engage in the toils and difficulties of public life. We believe that all who have had the pleasure of being numbered in Mr. TYLER's social circle, or who have been honored with his correspondence, can bear testimony to the brilliancy, versatility, and charms of his conversation, and to the elegance and intellectual vigor displayed even in his most rapid and familiar letters. His manners are elevated and polished, characterized by affability, courtesy, and kindness. Frank and open in his communication with strangers, he is affectionate and confiding in his demeanor towards his friends; and his house and table are those of a genuine Virginian—the synonyme for unbounded hospitality.

James K. Polk

JAMES K. POLK.

North Carolina was founded chiefly by Covenanters from Scotland, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, all of whom left their country for "conscience sake." We cannot, therefore, be surprised that in that state the seeds of independence were early sown; nor do we wonder that its sons claim to be the first who declared their freedom from all obligations to obey the government of Great Britain.

Among the leading men in the Revolution, were the now widely extended family of *Polk*, originally *Pollock*. They are said to have been the first Democratic family of note in the country, and one of them was the prime mover, and a signer of the celebrated "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775. This was the great uncle of the President.

Samuel, the father of James Knox Polk, was an enterprising farmer. He was throughout life a firm Democrat, and a warm supporter of Mr. Jefferson. Thrown upon his own resources in early life, he became the architect of his own fortune, and in the year 1806, he removed with his family of ten children, from North Carolina to Tennessee, where he was among the pioneers of the fertile valley of the Duck river, now one of the most flourishing and populous portions of the State. He was followed by the Polk family, with the exception of one branch, and they added character to that portion of the great valley of the Mississippi.

James Knox, who was named after the worthy father of his mother, was the oldest of the ten children of his father. He was born in Mecklenburg County, N. C., November 2, 1795. Removing, as we have seen he did, in very early life to Tennessee, it could be no matter of surprise that his early education was very limited. The opportunities for instruction furnished in an infant settlement were few, besides which he was no stranger to daily labor. He assisted his father in the management of his farm, and was his almost constant companion in his surveying excursions. They were frequently absent for weeks

together, treading the dense forests, and traversing the rough canebrakes which then covered the face of the country, and were exposed to all the hardships of a life in the woods. Here JAMES resided till elected to the presidential chair of this great country.

When but a lad, notwithstanding all his disadvantages, the greatest of them a painful disease, from which after years of suffering, he was finally relieved by a surgical operation, he acquired the elements of a good English education. He was even then strongly inclined to study, and often employed himself in mathematical calculations. All the elements of his future character might then have been traced. To obtain a liberal education was his chief desire, and a profession was the great end at which he aimed. His habits, formed by the moulding hand of his exemplary mother, peculiarly fitted him for success in the sphere toward which his thoughts were directed, and on which his hopes were fixed. He was correct, punctual, industrious, persevering, and, in a word,—*ambitious*.

The health of the future President having so greatly failed, his father, fearing the evil effects of confinement to study, determined, though greatly against the will of the son, to place him under the care of a merchant, with a view to commercial life. He remained in this situation, however, but a few weeks, for he found means to change the mind of his father, who in July, 1813, consented that he should study under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Henderson, and subsequently at the Academy of Murfreesborough, Tenn., then under the direction of Mr. Samuel P. Black, justly celebrated in that region as a classical teacher. The difficulties in the way of his education were now removed; and in the autumn of 1815, after preparatory studies for two years and a half, he entered an advanced class in the University of North Carolina, being then in his twentieth year. Here he was most exemplary in the performance of all his duties, not only as a member of college, but also of the literary society to which he belonged. He was regular and punctual at every exercise, and never absent from recitation, or any of the religious services of the institution. So remarkable was his character in this matter, that one of his classmates, who was something of a wag, was in the habit of averring, when he wished his friends to place confidence in his assertions, that the fact he stated was "just as certain, as that POLK would get up at the first call."

The results of such habits were just what might have been expected. At each semi-annual examination, he bore away the highest honors, and graduated in June, 1818, with the reputation of being the first

scholar in both mathematics and classics. Of the former science he was passionately fond, though equally distinguished as a linguist. Of his *Alma Mater*, he was never forgetful; and of the high estimation in which she held him, evidence was given in June, 1847, when the degree of LL. D. was conferred on him within her walls.

From the University, Mr. POLK returned to Tennessee with health greatly impaired by incessant application to study. Happily a few months of relaxation improved his strength, and in the spring of 1819, he commenced the study of law, (the profession which has furnished eleven of the fourteen Presidents of the United States,) in the office of Felix Grundy, of Nashville, then in the zenith of his fame. Mr. POLK was admitted to the full privileges of the profession at the close of 1820, where he at once took a distinguished position. He immediately established himself amidst the companions of his childhood, where he practised for several years with eminent success, and enjoyed a rich harvest of professional emoluments.

In this country, the politician and the lawyer are usually found in the same person; to this general rule, Mr. POLK was not an exception. He was a republican of the strictest sect; his character was popular; and his style and manner as an orator were eminently adapted to win the favor of the masses. In 1823, he was chosen to represent his own county in the State Legislature, and was two successive years a member of that body. Most of the measures of the then President, Mr. Monroe, received his unqualified approbation, and he was desirous that his successor should be one who had no sympathy for the latitudinarian doctrines in reference to the constitution, which appeared to be gaining ground. Hence he approved of the nomination of Andrew Jackson for the Presidency, made by the Tennessee Legislature in 1822; and in the following year, aided by his vote to call that distinguished man from his retirement, by his election to the Senate of the United States. These gentlemen maintained a warm, personal and political friendship for each other, till they were separated by death. While a member of the General Assembly, Mr. POLK obtained the passage of a law to prevent duelling; and opposed the doctrine of internal improvements by the general government.

On New Year's day, 1824, Mr. POLK was married to Miss Sarah Childress, the daughter of Joel Childress, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Tennessee, a lady who has proved herself well fitted to adorn any station. To the charms of a fine person, she united intellectual accomplishments of a high order. An amiable disposition, gracefulness of manner, beauty of mind, and sincere piety of heart, have always

been happily blended in her character. A kind mistress, a faithful friend, a devoted wife, an affectionate widow—these are her titles to esteem; and they are gems brighter and more resplendent than usually decorate a queenly brow. Affable, but dignified; intelligent, but unaffected; frank and sincere, yet never losing sight of the respect due to her position, she has won the regard of all who have approached her. May she long be spared to perpetuate the memory of him whose name she bears.

In August, 1825, being then in his thirtieth year, Mr. POLK was elected to represent his district in Congress, and took his seat in December following. He brought with him the principles to which he adhered through all the mutations of party. He was at that time, with one or two exceptions, the junior member of the body, but so conducted himself as to satisfy his constituents, so that he was returned for fourteen years in succession, from 1825 to 1839, when he voluntarily withdrew from another contest, in which his success was not even questionable, to become a candidate for the office of Governor in his adopted State. The same habits of laborious application which had previously characterized him, were now displayed on the floor of the House, and in the committee-room. He was punctual and prompt in the performance of every duty, and firm and zealous in the advocacy of his opinions. He spoke frequently, but was invariably listened to with respect. He was always courteous in debate; his speeches had nothing declamatory about them, were always to the point, and always clear. So exemplary was he in his attendance on Congress, that it is said, he never missed a division while occupying a seat on the floor of the House, and was not absent from the sittings a single day, except on one occasion, on account of indisposition. Such punctuality in a legislator, is rarely witnessed, and therefore it deserves to be remembered.

The first speech which Mr. POLK made in Congress, was in favor of a proposition so to amend the Constitution as to prevent the choice of President, in any event whatever, from devolving on Congress. This address at once attracted the attention of the country, by the force of its reasoning, the fulness of its research, and the spirit of honest indignation with which it was animated. As one of the friends of General Jackson, he entered warmly into the subject, and his speech was characterized by what was with him an unusual degree of animation, in addressing a deliberate body. Henceforth the way was clear before him. Although among his associates in Congress there were many of the ablest men in the nation, an honorable post among them was cheer-

fully assigned him, and he became henceforth identified with the most important transactions in the Legislature. During the whole of General Jackson's administration, as long as he retained a seat on the floor, he was one of its leading supporters, and at times, and on certain questions of vast importance, its chief reliance. Throughout the period of his connection with the Legislature, he was on the most important committees, and originated many momentous measures.

In December, 1835, Mr. POLK was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and was again chosen to that high office in 1837, at the extra session held in the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration. During the first session in which he presided, more appeals were taken from his decision than had occurred in the whole period since the origin of the government; but he was uniformly sustained by the House, and frequently by the most prominent members of the opposition. He was courteous and affable toward all who approached him, and in his manner, as the presiding officer, dignity and urbanity were admirably blended. Notwithstanding the violence with which he had been assailed, Congress passed at the close of the session, in March, 1837, an unanimous vote of thanks to its presiding officer, from whom it separated with the kindest feelings; and no man now could enjoy its confidence and friendship in a higher degree. His calmness and good temper had allayed the violence of opposition, in a station for which his sagacity, tact for business, and coolness eminently qualified him. In the twenty-fifth Congress, over which he presided as speaker during three sessions, commencing in September, 1837, and ending in March, 1839, parties were more nearly balanced, and the most exciting questions were agitated during the whole period. At the close of the term, Mr. Elmore, of South Carolina, moved the usual vote of thanks. A long and exciting debate arose, when the resolution was adopted. In adjourning the House, Mr. POLK delivered a farewell address of more than ordinary length, and characterized by deep feeling. Thus ceased his connection with the House, for he declined a reëlection. He had faithfully discharged his legislatorial duties fourteen years.

Thus freed from engagements of this kind, he was taken up by the friends of the administration in Tennessee, as a candidate for Governor. After an animated canvass, during which Mr. POLK visited the different counties of that extensive state, and addressed the people on the political topics of the day, the election took place in August, 1839, and resulted in a majority for Mr. POLK, of more than two thousand five hundred votes over General Cannon, and on the 14th of October following, he entered on the discharge of the executive duties. This

station, however, he filled but two years. As he was not reëlected, he returned with cheerfulness in 1841 to the duties and enjoyments of private life; where, blessed with a competency which enabled him to be liberal in his charities, and to dispense a generous hospitality to his friends, and favored with a wife whose virtues and graces made his home a paradise, little was left for him to desire.

But can a politician stand still? Mr. POLK was not without ambition, and the expectations of his friends were early fixed on the presidential chair. At the session of the Tennessee Legislature, in 1839, he was nominated by that body for the Vice-presidency, to be placed on the ticket with Mr. Van Buren, and with the expectation that he might succeed that gentleman in the higher office; and he was afterwards nominated in other states for that station, but the design failed.

From the time of the defeat of Mr. Van Buren, in 1840, till within a few weeks of the assembling of the national democratic convention, at Baltimore, in May, 1844, public opinion in the republican party seemed to have been firmly fixed upon him as their candidate for reëlection to the station which he had once filled. But in April, 1844, a treaty was concluded by President Tyler, between the United States and the republic of Texas, for the annexation of the latter to the American confederacy. This measure was fruitful in contention, and destroyed the general expectation that Messrs. Van Buren and Clay would be the rival candidates for the presidency. In the midst of this commotion the democratic convention assembled, and after much discussion and many trials of strength in behalf of various parties, the name of Mr. POLK was mentioned, and it operated like magic; harmony was instantly restored, and in the end the vote was unanimous. The honor to Mr. POLK was entirely unexpected, but who could expect him to decline it? On the 28th of November, the result of the election being then known, Mr. POLK visited Nashville, and was honored with a public reception by his democratic friends, together with a number of their opponents in the late contest, who cheerfully united with them in paying due honors to the President elect of the people's choice. A grand procession, and an imposing illumination testified the hilarity and joy of the people.

Mr. POLK left his home in Tennessee, on his way to Washington, the latter end of January, 1845. He was accompanied by Mrs. Polk, and several personal friends. On the 31st of that month he had a long private interview at the Hermitage, with his venerable friend, Andrew Jackson. The leave-taking was affectionate and impressive,

for each felt conscious, that, in all probability, it was a farewell forever. It was the son, in the pride of manhood, going forth to fulfill his high destiny, from the threshold of his political father, whose trembling lips, palsied with the touch of age, could scarcely invoke the benediction which his heart would prompt. Before another harvest moon shed its light upon the spot hallowed by so many memories and associations, the "Hero of New Orleans," and the "Defender of the Constitution" slept that sleep which, till the morning of the resurrection, knows no waking.

Various pleasant anecdotes, illustrative alike of the character of Mr. POLK and of the manners of the country, are told of his "progress" to the Capital, far more attractive than the movements of monarchs. When the steamboat, on which he proceeded up the Ohio river, stopped at Jeffersonville, Indiana, "a plain-looking man came on board," says a passenger on the steamer, "who from the soiled and coarse condition of his dress, seemed just to have left the plough handles or spade, in the field. He pressed forward through the saloon of the boat, to the place where the President was standing in conversation with a circle of gentlemen, through which he thrust himself, making directly for the President, and offered his hand, which was received with cordial good will. Said the farmer, 'how do you do, Colonel? I am glad to see you. I am a strong democrat, and did all I could for you. I am the father of twenty-six children, who are all for *Polk, Dallas, and Texas!*' Colonel POLK responded with a smile, saying, he was happy to make his acquaintance, feeling assured that he deserved well of his country, if for no other reason than because he was the father of so large a republican family."

On March 4, 1845, Mr. POLK was duly inaugurated President of the United States. An immense concourse of people assembled at Washington to witness the imposing ceremony, every quarter of the Union being well represented. The morning was wet and lowering; but the spirits of the spectators were proof against the unfavorable influences of the weather. All parties joined in the appropriate observance of the day, and the national standard floated proudly from the flag-staffs of both democrats and whigs.

Mr. POLK entered upon the duties of his administration under somewhat unfavorable auspices. He belonged to a younger race of statesmen than the prominent candidates whose names were originally presented to the Baltimore convention, and it was but natural that he should be fearful of incurring the dislike of some one or more of them, which might tend seriously to embarrass his administration. But his

position personally, was all that could be desired. He had no pledges to redeem,—no promises to fulfill; and he was not a candidate for reëlection. He was indifferent, too, as to which of the leading men of his party should be his successor. It was his desire, therefore, to harmonize and conciliate, but, at the same time, to surrender no principle, to maintain his character for independence, and to observe the dignity of his official position. For these reasons, his cabinet was selected from among the most distinguished members of the democratic party, and in it each section of the confederacy was represented.

It will be remembered by our readers, that the treaty for the annexation of Texas, concluded by President Tyler, had been rejected by the Senate of the United States, on June 8, 1844. At the ensuing session of Congress, the subject was again discussed, and joint resolutions providing for the annexation, were adopted on March 1, 1845. The people of Texas, represented in convention, signified their assent to the terms of the resolutions on the 4th of July following, and formed a state constitution, which was forwarded to Washington to be laid before the Congress of the United States by the President. This difficulty was thus settled; as was also the Oregon question, so long an apple of discord between Great Britain and the United States; and the war with Mexico, arising out of the annexation of Texas, soon after ended. All these great events elicited the statesmanlike talents of Mr. Polk and his official advisers, and furnished ground of satisfaction to every lover of his country. Much additional labor had been thrown on the President, but it was all ably and promptly performed.

Other great and grave questions had to be now discussed and acted on, such as the independent treasury system, the tariff of 1846, the course in regard to official appointments, the river and harbor veto, and the territorial bill for Oregon, but our limited space affords no room for discussions, besides which the reader can have no difficulty in obtaining whatever information relative to them he may desire. Congress assembled for the last time during the administration of Mr. Polk, on December 4, 1848. The most important subject then agitating the public mind, was that growing out of the Wilmot Proviso, as to which his opinions had been made known in his last annual message. His vetoes, too, had been attacked, in some of the Northern and Western states, with great asperity, and an effort to amend the constitution, so as to deprive the executive of this power, was said to be in contemplation. He therefore availed himself in his last annual message to vindicate his course, and to express his opinions.

March 5, 1849, the 4th happening on Sunday, General Taylor was

duly inaugurated as the successor of Mr. POLK. The latter gentleman took part in the ceremonies, and rode at the side of General Taylor in the carriage which conveyed them to the Capitol. He was also one of the first to congratulate him at the close of his inaugural address, at the same time rejoicing that he was himself relieved from the anxieties of public life. On that afternoon, he and Mrs. Polk took leave of their friends,—many words of mingled regret and endearment being uttered on both sides,—and in the evening commenced their return to their home in Tennessee. Thus ended the most important administration since that of Mr. Madison. As Mr. Jenkins, one of Mr. POLK's ablest biographers, has remarked, "The settlement of the Oregon question, the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of California, will cause it to be long remembered. Ages hence, if the God of nations shall continue to smile on our favored land, the dweller on the banks of the Mississippi, as he gazes on the mighty current that laves his feet, and beholds it reaching forth, like a giant, its hundred arms, and gathering the produce of that noble valley into its bosom, will bless the name of Thomas Jefferson. So, too, the citizen of California or Oregon, when he sees their harbors filled with stately argosies, richly freighted with golden sands, or with silks and spices of the Old World, will offer his tribute, dictated by a grateful heart, to the memory of JAMES K. POLK. At home, his administration was well conducted. Though the war with Mexico was actively prosecuted for nearly two years, the national debt was not largely or oppressively increased, and the pecuniary credit of the government was at all times maintained; more than double the premiums realized in the war of 1812 being procured for stock and treasury notes. Commerce, agriculture, and every art and occupation of industry, flourished during this period; happiness and prosperity dwelt in every habitation. In the management of our foreign relations, ability, skill and prudence, were displayed. Our rights were respected; our honor defended; and our national character elevated still higher in the estimation of foreign governments and their people."

If Mr. POLK was gratified with the enthusiastic demonstrations of regard which attended him on his journey to Washington, to enter on the duties of his administration, he was far more sincerely pleased with the kindly greetings that everywhere welcomed him as he returned to his home in Tennessee. The one might have been selfish, for he had then office and patronage to bestow; but the other was the genuine homage of the heart. At Richmond, he was complimented with a public reception by the citizens, and the Legislature of Vir-

ginia, then in session; at Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans—at every place he passed on his route,—congratulations, prayers, and blessings attended him, like ministering angels, to the home from which he had gone forth in early manhood to carve out his destiny, and to which he now returned with the harvest of fame he had gathered. Perhaps, however, the most gratifying reception he met with on his whole journey, was at Wilmington, N. C., where the people of his native State, came together in crowds to welcome him. Extensive preparations had been made for his reception, and in replying to the orator who addressed him, he said:—"You remark truly, sir, that I still cherish affection for my native State. I receive its welcome as the blessing of an honored parent. North Carolina can boast of glorious reminiscences, and is entitled to rank with, or far above, many who make greater pretensions. It was from her—her counties of Mecklenburg, New Hanover, and Bladen, that the news of treason in the colonies first went to the ears of the British monarch, and here was the spirit of independence first aroused."

The exhausted health and strength of Mr. Polk now demanded rest. He had been eminently devoted to the duties of his great office; friends and enemies acknowledged that his labors had been too great for his comparatively delicate frame to sustain with safety. He had been for a long time subject to frequent attacks of chronic diarrhœa, one of which greatly prostrated him on his journey up the Mississippi. Previously to this period, he had purchased the beautiful house and grounds of his friend and preceptor, Mr. Grundy, situated in the centre of the city of Nashville. Here, surrounded by the conveniences which an ample fortune enabled him to procure, in the constant companionship of his wife and books, and in the frequent society of the friends he esteemed, he had determined to pass the remainder of his life in ease and retirement, fulfilling his duty to himself and the world, but not entering again into public life. On arriving at Nashville, after a few days' rest, he took possession of this elegant mansion, and seemed to be rapidly gaining strength; he devoted himself to the improvement of his grounds, and all now seemed to promise long life and enjoyment.

But, alas, how often are the brightest expectations of man doomed to the darkest disappointment! Even those highest in rank and excellence, are compelled to meet the common lot. Some of the friends of Mr. Polk were observing the rapid improvement of his health, and were struck with his erect and healthful bearing; and the active energy of his manner, which gave promise of long life. His flowing gray

locks alone made him appear beyond the middle stage of life. About the first of June, being detained within doors by a rainy day, he began to arrange his extensive library, and the fatigue of reaching his books from the floor to the shelves, brought on a slight fever, which the next day assumed the form of his old disease. The best medical aid was obtained, and for some days no alarm was cherished. But, in defiance of the most eminent skill, he continued gradually to sink, so that when the disease left him four days before his death, there did not remain energy enough for healthy reaction, and on the evening of Friday, June 15, 1849, he expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

The close of life now rapidly approaching was contemplated by Mr. Polk with all the solemnity which its vast importance demanded; and all his conversations on the subject were worthy of his character. He evinced a very thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, which he said he had read a great deal, and deeply reverenced as divine truth; in a word, he had been throughout his life theoretically a Christian; and now, more than ever felt the importance of genuine piety. He said that when in office he had several times seriously intended to be baptised; but the cares and perplexities of public life scarcely allowed time for the requisite solemn preparation; and so procrastination had ripened into inaction, till it was now almost too late to act. About a week before his decease, he received the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper from the Rev. Mr. M'Ferrin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with whom he had long been personally intimate, and then calmly awaited the change which should remove him to another state of existence. About half an hour preceding his death, his venerable mother entered the room, and kneeling by his bedside, in the presence of Major Polk, brother of the ex-president, and the other members of the family, she most solemnly and feelingly commended the departing soul of her son to "the King of kings, and the Lord of lords." Previously to this act, he had taken leave of all he held dear; and could thus say with Lord William Russell, "the bitterness of death is past."

On the day following, the mansion of the lamented ex-president was shrouded in mourning, and the corpse, dressed in a plain suit of black, with a copy of the Constitution of the United States at its feet, lay in one of the drawing rooms, to receive the last look of thousands of friends and neighbors; and the cortege which accompanied his remains to their last resting place, was composed of almost the entire population

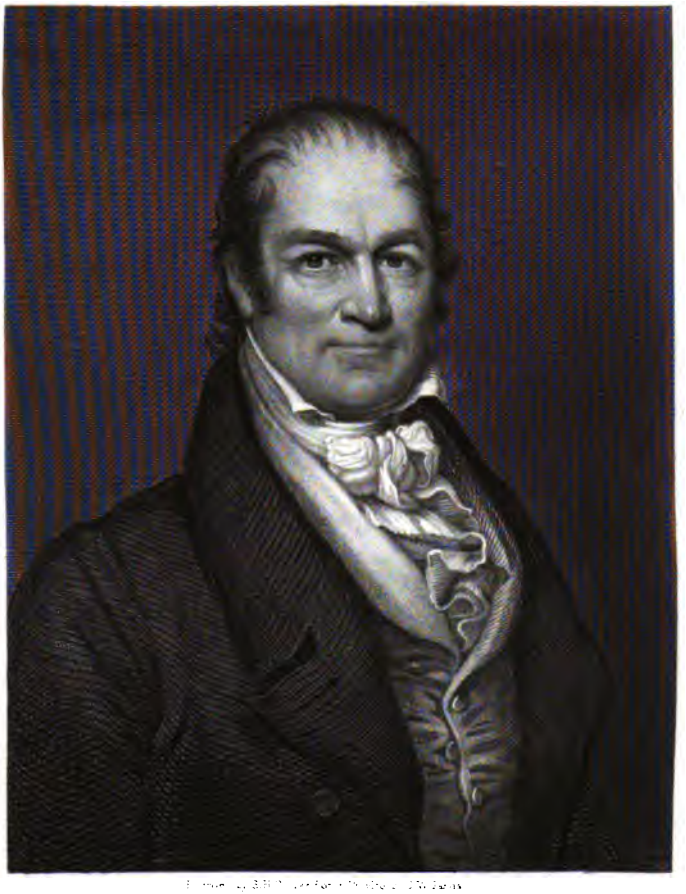
of the city and adjacent country. The plain silver plate on his coffin, contained merely these words:

"J. K. POLK,
Born November 2, 1795,
Died June 15, 1849."

At Washington, and in every part of the Union, due honors were paid to his memory.

In person, President POLK was of middle stature, with a full angular brow, and a quick penetrating eye. The expression of his countenance was grave, but its serious cast was often relieved by a peculiarly pleasant smile. His private life, which had ever been upright and pure, secured to him the esteem of all who had the advantage of his acquaintance.

The Hon. Mr. Chase, in his "*History of the Polk Administration*," says very truly, "No one who ever knew Mr. POLK ever considered him a brilliant genius. His mind possessed solidity rather than imagination. His perception was intuitive, and his memory retentive to an extraordinary degree, while his judgment rarely led him into error. His manners were remarkably affable, and always made an impression upon those who knew him. Among his intimate friends, he indulged his wit and humor with perfect freedom, and they always found him a pleasant and instructive companion." The prominent trait of his character was extraordinary energy. In college, at the bar, in his political canvasses, and in the discharge of his executive duties, he was alike distinguished for his untiring industry and indomitable will. This frequently induced him to devote his attention too much to minute details, and had the effect of impairing his constitution. He invariably succeeded in inspiring his friends with his own enthusiasm; no obstacle could deter him from the energetic discharge of his duty. Subsisting upon the plainest food, and perfectly temperate in his habits, he accustomed himself to a rigid system of diet, which alone could have sustained him in his political conflicts. As Mr. Chase has remarked, "Posterity will pronounce his eulogium!"



Wm H Crawford

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

WILLIAM HARRIS CRAWFORD was born in Nelson County, Virginia, 24th February, 1772. In 1779, his father, Joel Crawford, removed with his family to Stevens' Creek, Edgefield District, South Carolina, about thirty miles above Augusta. The next winter, the British troops having taken Savannah and Augusta, Mr. Crawford returned north over Broad River, into Chester District. Soon after South Carolina was overrun by the British, he was seized and thrown into Camden jail as a rebel. Here he remained the greater part of the summer, and was released on some of his neighbors becoming his security. In 1783 he removed into Georgia, and settled on Kiokee Creek, Columbia County.

The disturbances of the country had an unfavorable influence upon its schools. The advantages for educating its youth were at best very meagre. Young CRAWFORD went to school a few months while his parents resided in South Carolina, and discovered such capacity for receiving instruction, as determined his father, when permanently settled in Georgia, to send him to Scotland, and give him a thorough education. He made arrangements with a Scotch merchant in Augusta, for supplying his son with funds during his residence at the University; but the merchant, in a fit of derangement, having attempted to cut his own throat, Mr. Crawford thought it unsafe to entrust him with funds and with the superintendence of his son. Having abandoned the idea of sending him abroad, he put him to school in the country, and gave him the best English education he could, and in 1788 set him to teaching school. Before this year expired, his father died, and the disease then prevalent in the country (probably small-pox) swept away most of the valuable servants of the family, and reduced them to very narrow circumstances. To aid his mother in supporting a large and almost helpless family, young CRAWFORD taught school, more or less, for three or four years. In 1794 the Re-

verend Dr. Waddel opened a Latin school in Columbia, called Carmel Academy. The desire of obtaining a classical education, which had been lost sight of since his father's death, now revived, and Mr. CRAWFORD entered the Academy, and remained in it two years, studying the usual Latin and Greek authors, philosophy, and the French language. The last year he was usher in the school, and received for his services one third of the tuition money. In this situation he remained until April 1796, and made the best possible use of his opportunities. In that month, this obscure usher, not dreaming of politics, but still anxious to increase his stock of useful learning, with a hope finally to obtain a profession, bent his way to Augusta, there to fling himself in the way of fortune's gambols, and to receive whatever the sportings of her fancy might turn up to an unknown but bold adventurer. His means were, however, perfectly inadequate to the objects he had in view. He obtained a situation in the Richmond Academy, where he remained in the double character of student and instructor until the year 1798, when he was appointed Rector of that institution. During his residence in Augusta he studied law, to the practice of which he was admitted in the course of that year. He was a self-taught law scholar. It may be remarked, that while he was engaged in his scholastic and professional studies, he supported a character for the most exemplary morality and prudence, and was a most indefatigable, close, and laborious student.

Mr. CRAWFORD was a man considerably above ordinary height, large, muscular, and well-proportioned. His head and face were remarkably striking, and impressed the beholder at once with the belief that he must possess more than ordinary powers of intellect. His complexion was fair, and, until late in life, ruddy. His features were strong and regular. When at rest, they indicated great firmness and perseverance of character. When he smiled, an engaging benignity overspread his whole countenance. His eyes, before they were affected by his protracted illness at Washington, were clear blue, mild, though radiant. Those who never made his acquaintance until his return to Georgia, will be apt to consider this description of his person overwrought, while those who knew him in the prime of life will hardly think it does him justice. His deportment was affable, his step firm, his gait erect and manly, but not ostentatious, indicating courage and independence.

His manners, though free from stiffness and hauteur, were never very graceful. They were such, however, as to make all about him feel easy. There was in him a certain consciousness of superior mind,

as has been said of another, which could not always be repressed nor withdrawn from observation. He was at all times a man of decided feelings—warm in his attachments, and vehement in his resentments. He was prompt to repel insults, and equally prompt to forgive whenever an appeal was made to his clemency. No personal labor was too great to be endured, if by it he could elevate modest merit from poverty to comfort, or advance the interests and honor of his friends. No child of distress ever made an unsuccessful appeal to his charity. His rule was to give something in every case, but to regulate the amount by the necessities which urged the call.

Few men have felt such perfect contempt for show and display as Mr. CRAWFORD. His dress was always plain, and never at all in his way. Indeed, he gave himself no care whatever about what he should wear. At the age of thirty-two, after a seven years' engagement, which had been suspended by his poverty, he married Susannah Girardin, of Augusta, who still survives, and who resides at Woodlawn, his country-seat, where he settled in 1804, and where he resided from that period to the day of his death, except when engaged in the public service. After marriage, he referred the subject of dress to Mrs. Crawford, who was as plain and unaffected in her taste as himself. Though his situation in public life often required him, out of respect to the customs of the country, and to avoid the charge of eccentricity, to keep up a style and equipage of unwonted splendor, it was manifest that his heart was not in it; nor does any one, at all acquainted with the man, believe for a moment, that his opposition to these things proceeded from penuriousness, or any kindred sentiment. He was a man of unquestioned liberality. He was seldom known to ask the price of any thing, and never considered any thing dear that added to the pleasure and comfort of himself or family. At an early age he imbibed the sentiment, that dandyism and intellectuality were antagonistic traits of character; and he was heard to say, a short time before his death, that amidst an extensive acquaintance with men of distinction in this country and in Europe, he had seen but two dandies who were men of genius. Modest virtue, sound sense, and stern integrity were the surest passports to his esteem. With these, a poor man was a prince in his affections; without them, a prince was the poorest of all beings.

Mr. CRAWFORD'S house has often been styled "Liberty Hall" by those familiar with the unrestrained mirthfulness, hilarity, and social glee which marked his fireside; and the perfect freedom with which every child, from the eldest to the youngest, expressed his or her opinion upon the topics suggested by the moment, whether those to

pics referred to men or measures. His children were always encouraged to act out their respective characters precisely as they were, and the actions and sentiments of each were always a fair subject of commendation, or good-humored ridicule by the rest. They criticised the opinions and conduct of the father, with the same freedom as those of each other, and he acknowledged his errors or argued his defence with the same kind spirit and good temper as distinguished his course towards them in every other case. The family government was one of the best specimens of democracy the world has ever seen. There was nothing like faction in the establishment. According to the last census, before marriage and emigration commenced, the population was ten, consisting of father and mother and eight children, of whom five are sons and three daughters. Suffrage on all questions was universal, extending to male and female. Freedom of speech and equal rights were felt and acknowledged to be the birthright of each. Knowledge was a common stock, to which each felt a peculiar pleasure in contributing according as opportunity enabled him. When afflictions or misfortunes came, each bore a share in the common burden. When health and prosperity returned, each became emulous of heightening the common joy. Chess, drafts, and other games, involving calculation and judgment, and plays which called for rapid thought, quick perception, and ready answers, formed sources of in-door amusements. Those requiring vigor of nerve and agility of muscle were performed upon the green. In all these sports upon the green and in the house, Mr. CRAWFORD was, even down to his last days, the companion of his children; delighting them often by taking part himself. Though the disease of which he suffered so much while at Washington deprived him of his activity, his zeal for the gratification of his children, and his delight in contributing all he could to their happiness, knew no abatement. As a husband, he was kind, affectionate, and devoted. He was never ostentatious in his attachments to any one, always evincing his regard more by substantial beneficence than by words. No parent was ever better beloved of his children than he. His home instructions were of incalculable advantage to them. He never contented himself with merely sending them to schools of highest and best repute, but made a personal examination of them almost every day, that he might see and know for himself how they progressed and how they were taught. He was in the habit of drawing them around him in a class, and requiring them to read with him. On these occasions, the Bible was his chief class-book, and Job and Psalms his favorite portions. The attention

and instructions here mentioned were faithfully accorded during the whole time of his cabinet service at Washington, except during his extreme illness. After his return from Georgia, and his partial recovery from his disease, he still kept up an intimate acquaintance with the progress of his younger children, and the manner of their instruction at school; though his general debility prevented his being so indefatigable as he had been. At no time of his life did he ever lose sight of the importance of storing the minds of his children with virtuous principles. The strict observance of truth, the maintenance of honor, generosity, and integrity of character, he never ceased to enjoin upon them as indispensable to respectability and happiness.

It is not within the knowledge of any of his children that he was ever guilty of profane swearing. He never made a profession of religion, but was a decided believer in Christianity, a life member of the American Bible Society, a Vice-President of the American Colonization Society, and a regular contributor to the support of the gospel.

Though Mr. CRAWFORD'S strides to political preferment were long and unusually rapid, as will be seen in the course of this sketch, they were not free from those difficulties and embarrassments which have often beset the way of those who have aspired to places of high honor and distinction. In all ages of the world, men of low minds and corrupt hearts have so far controlled popular sentiment, as to infuse into it principles, which, when subjected to the tests of enlightened wisdom, sound ethics, and the highest and best dictates of refined humanity, must, without hesitation, be pronounced erroneous. The history of man evinces that no order of intelligence on earth has, at all times hitherto, been sufficiently strong, successfully to oppose those practices which have been the legitimate result of such principles. Thus much must be conceded of those mortal conflicts which spring from the law of honor, as exhibited in the opinions, and enforced by the examples, of some of the most illustrious statesmen and patriots of this country and Europe. That the subject of this notice was, in the commencement of his career, himself imbued with this philosophy, (this false philosophy,) and that he gave a practical illustration of his faith upon two occasions, it were useless to deny or conceal. It is believed, however, that he ever afterwards looked upon this part of his history with deep and poignant regret. The only affair* of this kind, with which he was afterwards connected, was one not of his own, and in which he consented to act as se-

* Eppes and Randolph.

cond, only that he might restore peace between the parties. This he did most effectually, and by his course in the matter secured the abiding confidence of all concerned.

In the spring of 1799, Mr. CRAWFORD removed into Oglethorpe County; and without money or patron commenced the practice of law, in what was then called the Western, now the Northern Circuit of Georgia. Such were his perseverance, industry, and talents, that he soon attracted the notice of that distinguished statesman and sound jurist, Peter Early, then at the head of his profession in the Up Country, and to whom he became warm and ardently attached. His great professional zeal, that always made his client's cause his own, his unremitted attention to business, his punctuality and promptness in its despatch, his undisguised frankness and official sincerity, disdaining the little artifices and over-reaching craft of the profession, combined with a dignity which, springing from self-respect alone, was entirely unmingled with affectation, his honesty and irreproachable moral character, accompanied with manners the most plain, simple, and accessible, secured for him a public and private reputation seldom equalled, and never surpassed in any country. His most prominent virtue was a bold and lofty ingenuousness of mind; in any intercourse whatever with him it was his most striking trait, and yet it was far from being studied. He never engaged, by a smooth and flexible manner, either in the utterance of his sentiments or the tendency of his address: in the first he was polite and unassuming, though confident and decided; in the latter he was easy without ostentation, and commanding without arrogance. In the court-house, as well as at home, the blind veneration and respectful awe, by no means inconsiderable, which were usually paid to the graces and proud carriage of person, the fascinating richness and gaiety of apparel, and the splendor of equipage, he neither claimed nor desired; brought up and educated altogether free from such vain allurements, he never suffered his native strength of mind and unaffected manly simplicity to yield in the slightest degree to their influence. After Mr. Early went to Congress in 1802, Mr. CRAWFORD might fairly be said to stand at the head of the bar in his circuit.

As a lawyer, he was courteous and liberal. As a speaker, not so much distinguished for fluency or elegance of style, as clearness of illustration and cogency of argument. In a conversation with the writer during his judicial service, he said he did not remember to have lost a case at the bar in which he had had the concluding speech. As a pleader, he was exceedingly neat and accurate. His hand-writing

was large, plain, elegant, and free. He left nothing to be supplied by the clerk; and his opposing counsel might see at the first glance the complaint or defence of his client set forth with a convincing clearness that created a feeling in advance that it must be just. His speeches were always short, rarely exceeding half an hour in any case. He had the faculty of seizing at once upon all the strong points of a case, and presenting each in its natural order with a simplicity, brevity, perspicuity and force, which told with unfailing effect upon the minds of the court and jury. He was always armed with such discrimination as enabled him to detect the least flaw in the argument of his adversary, and no fallacy was allowed to pass unexposed. No incident connected with the testimony, which could be wielded to the advantage of his client or against his opponent, ever escaped the tenacity of his memory. His social intercourse with the members of the profession, whom he considered worthy of his respect, was unrestrained; and many and loud were the roars of laughter that succeeded his well-told anecdotes. His presence was an effectual antidote to dulness; his mirth was irresistible. Stupid, indeed, was the man who could not yield some sparks of intellect when brought into social intercourse with him. Although he left society largely in arrears to him on the score of contribution to social enjoyment, no man was easier pleased, none felt a livelier sympathy in the interests and feelings of others.

Oglethorpe called him four years to represent her in the Legislature, and during that period she found in him a faithful respresentative. Many laws, now of force in the State, bear the impress of his wisdom as a legislator. It was as a member of the Legislature of Georgia that he laid the foundation for that extensive and permanent popularity as a politician which he ever afterwards enjoyed. In 1807 he was elected to the Senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the great, and good, and highly-gifted Abraham Baldwin; and re-elected in 1811 without opposition. On entering the Senate of the United States, Mr. CRAWFORD came in immediate collision with that veteran debater, the Honorable William B. Giles of Virginia. The very creditable manner in which he sustained himself in that contest, won for him, in the outset, a high reputation for talents, which he retained as long as he continued to be a member of that body. Most of those who were numbered in the republican ranks in 1810 and later, even up to 1812, were somewhat distrustful of the navy as a means of national defence, and opposed its considerable enlargement. A very current sentiment of those

days was, that the navy was but too well calculated to embroil us with other nations. It will be remembered that the reduction of the navy was a prominent feature in Mr. Jefferson's administration. It must be confessed that Mr. CRAWFORD participated in this opinion to a considerable extent. But, in common with most of his political friends and associates, its brilliant achievements during the last war, won him over to a more favorable opinion of that department of the public service. In fact, he became a strong advocate of the navy. After the peace, in 1815, one of the first measures adopted, was an act of Congress for the increase of the navy, and an annual appropriation of $1,000,000 to that object. In this measure nine tenths of both houses concurred, and the wisdom and propriety of it received Mr. CRAWFORD'S hearty acquiescence. Shortly after, in one of his reports, he styles the navy "an essential means of national defence." In all questions of appropriation he was the uncompromising advocate of the rule, that the objects and places of expenditure should be distinct and specific, so as to leave as little as possible to executive discretion. He was a warm and decided advocate for an early resort to arms, to redress the injuries and indignities heaped upon this country by Great Britain, and which laid the foundation for the last war. This is manifest from his votes in the Senate upon every question leading to a declaration of war throughout the years 1811 and 1812.

He voted for the bill authorizing fifty thousand volunteers to be received by the President—for increasing the army twenty-five thousand —for an act concerning the navy, fitting out certain frigates; and was friendly to the passage of an act for increasing the navy, passed 2d January 1813, by which the building of four seventy-fours and six forty-four gun frigates was authorized. His vote is to be found recorded for the passage of the law by which war was declared, and uniformly against every proposition for its modification. He was then President, *pro tempore*, of the Senate; and had been elevated to that distinguished station during the session of Congress in which the war was declared, and at a time when no man of equivocal political opinions, or doubtful sentiments, on the question of peace or war, would have been, by a decidedly republican Senate, placed in that dignified office. This will readily account for Mr. CRAWFORD'S not having made a speech in favor of a declaration of war; he was the presiding officer of the Senate, and had been so more than four months; and by the peculiar rule of that body could not, without leaving the station to which he had been called, participate in debate

The embargo, and the bank, formed two other questions of grave

import and high national excitement during his senatorial career. His course upon both was prompt, fearless, and independent. The former he opposed in the teeth of a popular and powerful administration; to the latter he gave a vigorous support, though unqualified opposition to it upon constitutional grounds was at that day, as it still is, one of the tests of republican discipleship. It is known, however, to his intimate friends, that the careful perusal of the secret debates of the convention which framed the constitution, and the debates upon the adoption of that instrument by the States, produced a change in his opinion upon the constitutionality of the bank.

In 1813, after declining the office of Secretary of War, tendered him by President Madison, he was sent minister to the Court of St. Cloud.

The Argus, in which he sailed, under the command of Captain Allen, entered the port of L'Orient the 11th of July, 1813, being twenty-one days from New-York.

What he did during his two years' residence at Paris, is already a matter of recorded history. It is enough to say, in this place, that his official notes evinced the clearest understanding of the questions pending between the two governments, and in them the rights of this country are set forth in the strongest and most imposing light, and pressed upon the empire, and afterwards upon the crown, with a force of logic, a confident boldness, and ceaseless vigilance, worthy of such a cause. During his stay at Paris he was the confidential friend and correspondent of our eminently distinguished negotiators for peace at Ghent.

Among the most pleasing incidents connected with his residence in Paris, was the acquaintance he formed with the hero of two hemispheres, the illustrious La Fayette. It would seem from the letters of this great and good man, which Mr. CRAWFROD has preserved with more than his usual care, that their acquaintance ripened into the strongest personal friendship; and that their intercourse was of the most confidential character. In these letters the politics of France are discussed with an unsuspecting freedom on the part of the General, and often with an unsparing severity, rarely surpassed in the interchange of opinions between sworn friends in the freest government on earth. To Mr. CRAWFORD'S auspices he principally confided the direction and management of his patents to the land granted him by Congress, in Louisiana, as a small return for his unparalleled sacrifices in the cause of freedom, his timely and efficient aid, and his brilliant achievements in our revolutionary struggle. This correspond-

ence was sustained on both sides with undiminished confidence and cordiality so long as the General lived.

On his return from France in 1815, he found that he had been appointed Secretary of War, in which department he served but a few months. In October following he was made Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison, and was that winter strongly solicited to allow his name to be put in nomination for the Presidency. But he promptly declined, saying that he was young enough to wait, and advised his friends to nominate and support Mr. Monroe. A caucus was held, in which Mr. Monroe received but a small majority of votes as the nominee over Mr. CRAWFORD, though he had so positively declined to allow his name to be run. A number of his strongest and most intimate friends refused to attend the caucus, resolving, as he would not allow them to vote for him, they would vote for no one else. It has often been confidently asserted by a great number of experienced politicians of that day, that if he had permttted his name to be put in nomination at that time, he might have been elected with perfect ease. This, of course, was a calculation founded on the signs of the times, a conclusion which may have been brought about as much by the propulsive power of strong political attachments, as by calm and dispassionate reasoning upon the course of events and the aspect of affairs. They knew that Mr. CRAWFORD could have been nominated without difficulty. The event showed the influence of such a nomination, as it resulted in the election of Mr. Monroe.

In 1817 Mr. CRAWFORD was re-appointed to the office of Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Monroe, and continued in that office till 1825, when he declined its acceptance under Mr. Adams's administration. Much of the period during which Mr. CRAWFORD acted as Secretary of the Treasury, times were very doubtful—our domestic relations embarrassed—pecuniary difficulties pressing upon the people—home and foreign commerce fluctuating—commercial capital deranged—a public debt to be managed, and, above all, a miserably depreciated and ruined currency had to be dealt with. The political essayists of those days agreed that it required ceaseless vigilance and profound ability to preserve the national estate from bankruptcy. But the public credit was never better at any period of the republic than during his administration of the affairs of the Treasury. The national debt was faithfully discharged, and the burdens of government upon the people were for the most part light and inconsiderable. At the time of greatest difficulty the *estimated* and *actual* receipts of the Treasury only varied ten per cent., while the estimates of his distin-

guished predecessors had varied from seventeen to twenty-one per cent. But perhaps the best evidence of his fidelity, zeal, and ability as cabinet officer in this department, was the length of time he served, the unbounded confidence reposed in him by Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe during the whole period of his service; the great interest manifested for his retention in that office by Mr. Gallatin; and Mr. J. Q. Adams's opinion of his merit, as evinced in his tendering him that office during his administration. Such men are rarely deceived in their estimate of character and qualifications.

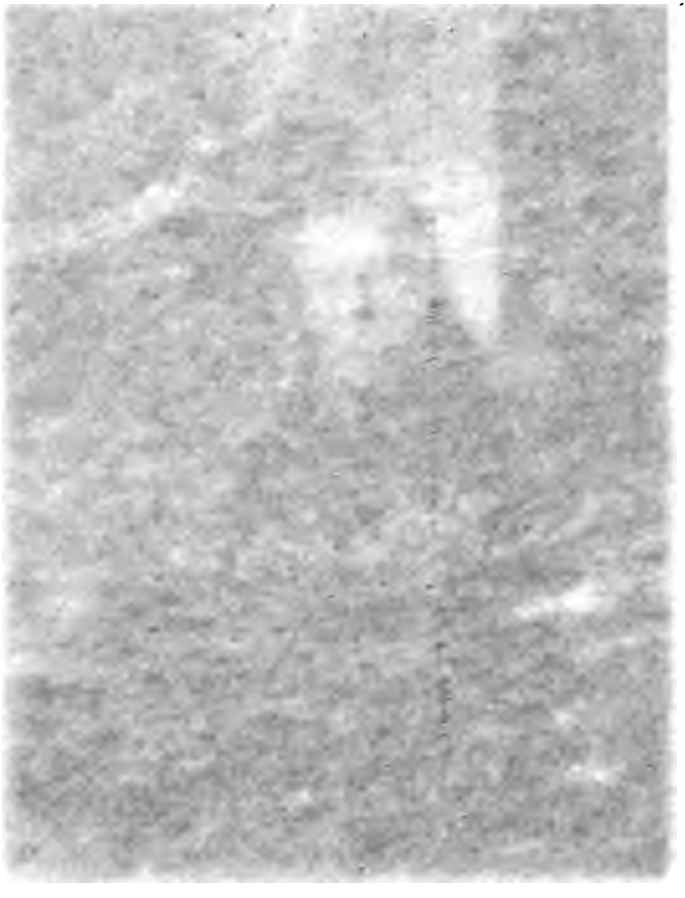
Many believe that Mr. CRAWFORD would have been chosen President in 1825, instead of Mr. Adams, if at the time of his election his health had not been so bad as to induce the belief that he could not survive his disease. He received an honorable vote from the electoral colleges. Whether his defeat were the result of illness or other cause, those who know his family, know that the prospect of retreating into private life, and of enjoying without interruption the society of the father, was hailed as a joyous era in the family history. If it were asserted that Mr. CRAWFORD himself experiencéd a secret gratification at the result, so far as he was concerned, and so far as his happiness was involved, few would credit the declaration. And yet none would doubt its truth who knew the facts. All believed that the atmosphere of Washington nourished the disease which was wasting his remaining strength and threatening his life; and under such circumstances, the honors of the presidency were as the small dust of the balance compared with the prospect of his restoration of health.

In 1827, after the death of Judge Dooly, Mr. CRAWFORD was appointed by Governor Troup, without solicitation, Judge of the Northern Circuit of Georgia. In 1828 the Legislature elected him to the same office without opposition. Three years after he was a candidate for re-election; and though he had an opponent whose plans for his defeat were well concocted, he obtained his election on the first balloting.

One effect of Mr. CRAWFORD'S long and distressing illness, to which allusion has been so often made, was, that it entailed upon him considerably more excitability of temper than he had ever before manifested. He used occasionally to exhibit this new trait of character, which was the offspring of disease, while upon the bench. His greatest annoyance was, what he called a "silly speech;" and though such speeches were of rare occurrence at the bar in his circuit, yet they did sometimes come out, and when they did, the Judge's patience was sure to suffer. Nevertheless he was considered able, upright, and impartial. His distinguishing trait, as a Judge, was, that he would not be tied down to the strict

technicalities of law when they would work a manifest injustice to either of the parties litigant. In such a case he would say, "*Summum jus* is sometimes *summa injuria*, and I must so construe the rule as to do the parties substantial justice." Those of his decisions which were made with deliberation, are considered as high authority as those of any Judge the State has ever had. The case of the State *vs.* Tassels may be mentioned as one of the most important which came before him while upon the bench. It did not originate in his circuit; but having been referred to all the Judges, he was appointed by the rest to write out the opinion. If any should still believe the slander that his mind was made imbecile by his illness at Washington, let him read its refutation in that decision.

He was in the active discharge of the duties of Judge of the Northern Circuit when he died. He set out on his way to Court on Saturday, and was taken sick that night at the house of a friend, and died at 2 o'clock the succeeding Monday morning, being the 15th September, 1834. His physicians were of the opinion that his disease was an affection of the heart. He died apparently without pain or fever. He sleeps at Woodlawn, under a plain mound of earth, without tombstone or inscription; and no one near him but a little grandson of two years old, who had preceded him by about fifteen months.



technicalities of law when they would work a manifest injustice to either of the parties litigant. In such a case he would say, "*Summum jus* is sometimes *summa injuria*, and I must so construe the rule as

Engraved by R.W. Dodson from a Painting by T. Sully

AUTHENTICATED AS A CORRECT PORTRAIT

Jon. L. Williams

JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

It is an agreeable task to commemorate a virtuous and useful life. If it be a worldly favor to the hand that presents the sword of honor to the victor, or the decoration to successful merit, it is a quiet, but not less grateful privilege, to be, to the deserving, the channel of their remembrance and praise.

Jonathan Williams, the father of the subject of this memoir, was a merchant in Boston, much respected and largely engaged there in commercial affairs. He was among the patriots of Massachusetts who took part in the struggle of the colonists against Great Britain; and in 1774 was chairman of the memorable meeting at Faneuil Hall in Boston, where it was voted "that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid on it; and that it should be sent back to England in the ships which had conveyed it to this country." This may show that he was an approved whig, and an influential citizen. A further allusion to this incident may be given more appropriately hereafter.

Jonathan Williams, his son, was born in Boston, in the year 1750, and received from his childhood, the best English education which the opportunities of that place then afforded. Intended for the profession of his father, he was taken from school before his studies were completed, and placed in a counting-house. Anxious to improve himself, he devoted his evenings and other leisure moments to the acquirement of knowledge; in this manner he gained considerable proficiency in the classics, and a ready and familiar acquaintance with the French language, both in speaking and writing it. In the course of his commercial pursuits, he made many voyages, in which he visited most of the West-India Islands, as well as various parts of Europe. His letters from these places, upon business and of general reflection, display much maturity of observation and judgment. In the year 1770, he first went to England with his brother, and an uncle, Mr. John Williams, who had been a local commissioner under the British government. On his arrival in

London, he was received with the greatest kindness by Dr. Franklin (who was his grand-uncle,) and taken by him to his house, which he insisted should be his residence during his stay in England. Having remained about a year in that country, and travelled during that time through a considerable part of it, Mr. WILLIAMS returned to America. In 1773, he again went to England. In consequence of his connection with Dr. Franklin, he was intrusted, on his various commercial voyages to and from his country, with letters and communications, on the then engrossing subject of the political relations between England and America; by this means he became acquainted with the prominent men of that day, and though then very young, in mental cultivation and resources, he was their fit companion.

In a letter written about the year 1774, and addressed to his father, he says, "After seeing my merchants, I went to see the doctor, (Franklin,) whom I found in exceeding good health and spirits; and was welcomed by him with a degree of joy and affection, which surpassed even the expectations I had formed from the former proofs I received of extensive goodness and friendship. I waited on my uncle, but he was not at home,—went then to Lord Dartmouth's, (colonial secretary,) at whose levee I met my uncle. After sending my name and business, I was immediately admitted to his lordship, who received me with great politeness. When he had read the letters, he asked me many questions, which I answered as well as I was able. I told him of the opinion of the people, their firmness, their determination, and their intention of a junction of the colonies; which I delivered, perhaps not in polite, but in American language. I left out nothing which I thought would give his lordship a true idea of the importance and virtue of the Americans; and having the strictest truth for my guide, I was not in the least confused nor abashed, but spoke as I would to any other man. He heard me with great politeness; and although I frequently discovered a sense of the impropriety of the administration, he seemed pleased. He then asked me my private opinion. 'Mr. WILLIAMS,' said he, 'I wish to come at truth; and as a man alone, shall be glad of your sentiments with regard to the disposition of the Americans. I ask it as a private gentleman; this conversation is confidential; and, you may depend, I shall make no public use of what you may tell me.' I made some little apology for my inferiority in point of abilities, but said, that as he had assured me we were private gentlemen, I would relate to him all I knew; but being unused to elegant addresses, I should presume on his indulgence, and deliver my sentiments in my own unadorned way, and

endeavor to utter simple truths, without confounding the matter, by seeking to embellish the manner. I then told him that the Americans never would submit; that they would not be surprised when the other acts should arrive; that they expected the worst, and were accordingly prepared; that I believed the junction would take place; and that they thought now or never was the time; that they supposed by submission they would make themselves the most abject slaves on earth; and that by opposition they could not be worse; that parliament had no right to tax them; that they would die by this opinion; and that a universal non-exportation agreement would be attended with salutary effects. His lordship, after some time, asked me if I knew 'Mr. Williams, who appears as moderator of that assembly,' (the meeting at Faneuil Hall.) 'He is my father, my lord.' 'And is your father a principal in those disturbances! Mr. WILLIAMS, how comes that, sir?' 'My father, my lord, is an honest man, and one who seeks not fame. He was in that meeting as any other man might be, and when chosen, was much surprised; he excused himself as being unacquainted with the office; and on the motion being put, and passed in the negative, he therefore officiated. My father, my lord, has been so little, heretofore, engaged in political disputes, that I was as much surprised as I should be, had your lordship been in the desk. But, my lord, I am only relating facts: it is not for me to dispute on the merit or demerit of my father's conduct, but I am sure he acted according to the dictates of his conscience, and upon honest principle; and thus acting, I hope your lordship will not think him wrong, though you may not agree in sentiment.' He smiled, and after paying me a compliment for my plainness and freedom, said, laughingly, 'So, then, your father may say with Falstaff, 'some men are in pursuit of honors, but others have honors in pursuit of them.'"

Again, in a letter written in September, 1774, he says, "With regard to politics, nothing has occurred; nor do I think any thing will happen till the parliament sits, when I dare say there will be warm work, and I have great hope that American affairs will wear a better aspect; for the ministry, I have reason to think, will find a greater opposition than they expect. Unanimity and firmness must gain the point. I can't help repeating it, though I believe I have written it twenty times before. The newspapers, which used to be the vehicles of all kinds of abuse on the poor Bostonians, are now full of pieces in our favor. Here and there an impertinent scribbler, like an expiring candle flashing from the socket, shows,

by his scurrility, the weakness of his cause, and the corruptness of his heart."

In the following year he made a short visit to France, of which, in one of his letters, dated London, May 5, 1775, he thus speaks. It is deemed proper to extract from it; for it contains a forecast of events which history soon after proved literally true. He says, "I have passed two months in the most agreeable manner possible, except with regard to my reflections relative to my unhappy country, which always attend me wherever I go. I found throughout France, a general attention to our disputes with Britain, and to a man, all that country are in our favor. They suppose England to have arrived at its pinnacle of glory, and that the empire of America will rise on the ruins of this kingdom; and I really believe, that when we shall be involved in civil war, they will gladly embrace the first opportunity of renewing their attacks on an old enemy, who they imagine will be so weakened by its internal broils, as to become an easy conquest. Although I profess myself an American, I am still an Englishman; I only wish the titles to be synonymous; and therefore do not hope for the destruction of this country; I only wish the prosperity of my own; and that its rights and privileges may ever remain inviolate; to secure which, no sacrifice should be thought too dear: so I do not give the French so much credit for their partiality, for I believe it to proceed in general more from a hatred to England, than a love to us; though in some particulars, I believe the natural rights of humanity are the basis of their opinions."

With the hope peculiar to the buoyant spirit of youth, that the differences between the two countries would still be justly settled, and that the firmness of his country would produce its desired effect upon the British government and people, Mr. WILLIAMS had nearly completed a mercantile connection with a West-India house of large capital and extensive trade, when the political separation of the two countries induced him to quit England and reside in France. His determination and views are expressed in a letter from Nantes, in 1777. "When I wrote to you from England, I was in the expectation of taking up my residence in that country. The scene is now changed; and since it became a question, which of the two countries I would prefer in a separate state, I did not hesitate to quit all my lucrative views, and to come hither, to do all the service I can, without expectation of further emolument than a subsistence. It is not improbable, that I shall engage in the American trade in some part of France, or return to some part of America, charged

with the management of commercial matters. Whatever I do in this way will be upon a large scale, and whilst I am doing essential service to my country, I may advance my own fortune. In this, however, I make a distinction; whatever I am capable of doing for the benefit of the cause, I will undertake with pleasure, gratis; but otherwise, in all commercial engagements with individuals of another nation." Let it be added, that at this time he numbered Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, among his American correspondents, and that his letters to that eminent man are filled with similar good sense and love of country, to those already given.

The early destiny of Mr. WILLIAMS separated him from the land, whose struggle for freedom deeply and constantly interested him—from the country to which he afterwards lived to devote years of usefulness and good example; but the resolve, contained in the letter last quoted, of help, however humble, to that country, is most honorable to him. It is known that the young American merchant strictly fulfilled it. About this period, he was appointed commercial agent of the United States, and resided principally at Nantes. In September, 1779, he was married to Mariamne, the daughter of William Alexander, formerly of Edinburgh, at the hotel of the Dutch ambassador at Paris; Dr. Franklin, then minister from the United States, being present at the ceremony. In 1783, he received a commission from the Farmers General of France, to supply them with tobacco, which was then, as it now is, a government monopoly. After this appointment, he removed to St. Germain's, where he resided until 1785, when he returned with Dr. Franklin to the United States. He remained in this country about four years, arranging his mercantile affairs; a task which, in consequence of the uncertain state of the commercial world, was attended with difficulties and pecuniary sacrifices. He sailed for England for the last time in 1788, for the purpose of bringing his family to Philadelphia, which he had selected as the place of his future residence. This determination was induced by his desire to be near his earliest, best, and kindest friend, Dr. Franklin: but he was met on his return in 1790, with the melancholy news of the death of that eminent man, which had taken place a short time before. He purchased a country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where he lived in the enjoyment of every social and domestic tie; diversifying his employments, in the duties of a useful citizen, and in the pursuit of those studies congenial to his mind. Mathematical investigation, botany, medicine,—the law itself,—were all included in his quiet but

vigorous habits of research; and he acquired enough of the last mentioned science, to be, for several years, an intelligent and valuable judge of the court of common pleas in Philadelphia.

In 1794, he accompanied the forces sent to quell the western insurrection in Pennsylvania.

The talent for investigation possessed by Mr. WILLIAMS has been alluded to; let an instance be given, where this habit resulted in good to the public. In consequence of his connection with the American post-office, Dr. Franklin had occasion to notice the fact, that the English packets were generally two weeks longer in crossing the Atlantic than the American vessels. An old sea-captain explained this to him, by observing that the commanders of the former were entirely ignorant of the limits, and almost of the existence, of the gulf-stream, and had therefore to overcome a strong current, which was carefully avoided by our countrymen: he mentioned at the same time, that the current might always be discovered by the warmth of the water, which was much greater than that of the surrounding ocean. This suggestion Dr. Franklin carefully remembered; and in his several voyages across the Atlantic, made regular experiments with the thermometer, to ascertain the width and direction of the gulf-stream, which were afterwards communicated to the American Philosophical Society. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. II., p. 314.] Mr. WILLIAMS, who had accompanied him on one of his voyages, and assisted him in his experiments, determined to repeat these experiments in his future voyages. He did so, and found that the water, out of soundings, was about ten degrees warmer than that on the coast; and it at once occurred to him that the thermometer might become a useful nautical instrument, for purposes far more important than the discovery of currents. He repeated these experiments, until he ascertained beyond all doubt the accuracy of his first supposition; and the result was laid before the American Philosophical Society, in the year 1790. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. III., p. 82.]

He there shows most clearly, that the water over banks is colder than that of the main ocean, in the inverse ratio of its depth; and that by the simple use of the thermometer, vessels may guard against unseen dangers, and approach a coast with a security previously unknown. The importance of this discovery is at present beyond controversy; and every navigator is now furnished with marine thermometers, as an indispensable part of his equipment.

In the year 1800, Mr. WILLIAMS was appointed a major in the U. S. Artillery; and soon after, a colonel in the corps of Engineers,

and chief of the Military Academy at West Point. He devoted himself to the discharge of the duties of his appointment; the fortress at New York, which bears his name, as well as most of the forts of our country, constructed whilst he was in the Engineer department, were sketched and completed by him, and by the officers under his direction.

It is, however, as the head of the Military Academy, that he probably rendered his most direct and continued service to his country. This institution, first suggested by Washington, and established by Jefferson, proved to Colonel WILLIAMS a fit theatre for the employment of his talents. With a mind stored with much scientific and general information, with great decision of character, and extensive knowledge of the world, he was, from the first of his command at West Point, a pledge of its purpose and success. As an officer, he furnished by his industry, exactness, and patience, an accomplished example to those whose military education he superintended. Under his direction, the institution steadily advanced in character; and all who were acquainted with its regulations and discipline, acknowledged its advantages. But it was not until the close of the war of 1812, that its influence was seen and felt by the country at large. It was not until the heroic deeds of M'Rae, Gibson, Wood, and Macomb, and other gallant young men, had so largely contributed to an honorable peace, that the military school became a source of interest and pride with the nation. Those accomplished and intrepid officers were first taught to be *thorough soldiers* by Colonel WILLIAMS. Some of these died on the field of battle, with a glory which he was instrumental in giving them the ambition and power to achieve. Others, high in rank and honor, live to remember the value of his former instructions. We have just alluded to the departed brave; let us go back for a moment, and appropriately remember another gallant youth whom he educated at West Point, and who was bound to him by the two-fold tie of pupilage and filial love. Captain Alexander J. Williams died on his country's ramparts, in the midnight carnage at Fort Erie. His veteran father read his loss on the page of history; but on the same page he might also read, that the commanding general, when recording that bloody battle, paused in the very flush of triumph, to tell the valor and deplore the death of his "favorite."*

* See official letter of Major General Gaines, August 15, 1814.

Prevented by his peculiar station from sharing the immediate duties of the field, Colonel WILLIAMS had obtained a promise, that in case of attack, the fortifications he constructed in the harbor of New York should be placed under his command. At the near prospect that the enemy would invade that city, he claimed the fulfilment of that promise. He received a refusal; grounded, it is believed, on the consideration that officers of the engineer corps had no right to a command over troops of the line. The soldier's feeling, in that which concerns his reputation and just pride, is seldom subject to general rule; and, in the ardent belief that both of these were involved in the defence of the post alluded to, Colonel WILLIAMS, in the year 1812, after a protracted correspondence upon the subject with the war department, resigned his commission in the army of the United States.

Immediately after his resignation, he received an appointment from the governor of New York, of brigadier-general in her forces. It was an uncommon tribute to a citizen of another state, and was conferred in testimony of his worth and character. He returned to his residence near Philadelphia; but he was soon called from his chosen retirement by the committee of safety, to superintend the erecting of fortifications in his neighborhood, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, which was faithfully executed.

In the autumn of 1814, he was elected a member of congress from the city of Philadelphia. He lived not to requite, by his experience and abilities, the confidence of his fellow citizens.

On the 20th of May, 1815, his diligent and honorable life was calmly terminated. He had yet attained only his sixty-fifth year. His mind had lost none of its peculiar endowments; nor had his body yielded to the decrepitude of age. In the highest council of our country, he might have added to his honors, and won a statesman's fame. But the hand of the Unseen, who disposes all things, now closed the career, and by his touch consecrated the memory of the useful citizen, the firm patriot, and the accomplished soldier.

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Pickering.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

It has often been remarked that great occasions are required to produce great men,—it would, perhaps, be more precisely accurate to say, that great men can only be brought into striking positions, and presented conspicuously to view, on great occasions. There is, it is probable, nearly an equal proportion of intellectual and moral energy diffused throughout each generation, and existing at every period. In seasons of tranquillity and repose, there is but little to distinguish one individual from another beyond the range of private observation; but when circumstances of an agitating nature are in operation, each individual catches a portion of the general excitement, and distinct direction is given to the development of his character.

We find, accordingly, that the eventful era of the American revolution was fruitful in great men. They sprang up in every quarter; and presented in the qualities of their minds and the circumstances of their lives, a spectacle of infinite variety. In this numerous and interesting assemblage, there was none whose history and character were more marked by strong, impressive, and distinguishing traits, than the subject of this memoir.

Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the 17th July, 1745. The family had emigrated from England at a very early period, and maintained from the beginning, as it does to this hour, a high degree of respectability and influence. The name of Pickering was distinguished in the field as well as in the senate, throughout the contests for liberty in the mother country, which resulted in the establishment of the commonwealth; and its representatives in America have always been found among the most resolute and unwavering advocates of the same cause, from the earliest settlement of the colony of Massachusetts, until its triumph was secured by the successful issue of the revolution.

At the age of fourteen, he became a member of Harvard university in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and received the honors of the college

in 1763. Upon leaving the university, and entering the scenes of active life, he found himself in the midst of influences, which attracted his attention to the great subjects of the rights of the people and the powers of the government. The controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was then beginning to awaken a lively and universal interest; and his ardent and energetic mind became deeply engaged in its progress, and intensely alive to the momentous importance of its issue.

The same fervent zeal for liberty and truth, which led him to enter with such spirit into the political questions of the day, seemed to actuate him on all occasions, during the whole course of his life. In the political movements of the times, he was engaged in the various committees and meetings of the whigs in Salem and its vicinity; and his powerful pen was employed in drawing up their correspondence, memorials, remonstrances, and resolutions. His productions of this kind, are among the best specimens of the political literature of the period.

Before the war broke out, he was elected register of deeds by the citizens of the county of Essex; and was appointed by the provisional government of Massachusetts, a judge of the court of common pleas. He was also appointed sole judge of the admiralty court, established in pursuance of an act of the general congress, for the district in which he resided, until after the commencement of hostilities; when he resigned it for the more urgent and perilous duties of the camp.

His clear and sagacious mind foresaw that the controversy would soon and inevitably reach that point, when it would be necessary to put it to the issue of the bayonet, and he exerted himself to prepare his countrymen for the emergency.

As colonel of the Essex militia, he devoted himself to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of military tactics, and labored to diffuse it among his subaltern officers, and throughout his command. He published a work on the subject; and in a spirit in harmony with that of his valiant and pious puritan ancestors, and congenial with the whole history of his own life, he went at regular and frequent intervals for a long period, (and of course at a great expense of time and money,) to Marblehead, a distance of five miles, for the double purpose of disciplining and drilling the inhabitants in the art of war, to defend their country from its enemies; and of instructing them in sacred music, in the exercises of which he took unabated delight to the day of his death; that in their religious assemblies they might offer a more acceptable and effectual worship to Him who is the God

of Battles, and in whose arm they were to put their trust, in the unequal and awful conflict then impending. In the year 1774, the "Boston Port Bill" was passed by the British parliament; and at the same time, the seat of the colonial government was removed to Salem. The inhabitants of the latter place, having reason to suspect that the government relied upon securing their support by thus transferring to them the advantages of being the metropolis, and the great commercial emporium of the province; thought it their duty to undeceive them on this point, as soon as possible. A town meeting was called, and an address voted to General Gage, expressive of the noble and disinterested sentiments of the people, and concluding with the following words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbid our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors'."

This address was written by Colonel PICKERING, and he was instructed by his fellow-citizens to deliver it in person to the governor.

The memorable distinction of conducting the first resistance in arms to the power of the mother country, fell to the lot of Colonel PICKERING. On Sunday, the 26th February, 1775, while the inhabitants of Salem were assembled in their usual places of worship, an express from Marblehead brought intelligence, that a regiment of British troops were landing from a transport ship, and preparing to march through Salem, to take possession of some military stores, deposited in the interior of the county. The people were instantly dismissed from their churches, and assembled on the drawbridge, with such means of resistance as were at hand, where they awaited the approach of Colonel Leslie and his regiment. On their arrival at the bridge the draw was raised. Colonel PICKERING presented himself on the opposite side, at the head of the multitude, and a small body of minute-men, drawn up in battle array. He informed Colonel Leslie that the military stores he had come to seize, were the property of the people, and that they would not be surrendered without a struggle. Colonel Leslie then ordered his men to get into a large gondola, attached to the wharf, and in that way secure a passage over the narrow stream. In a moment, Joseph Sprague, Esq., the owner of the boat, and at that time, the major of the Essex

regiment, sprang on board, beat a hole through her side, and sunk her to the bottom. While effecting his purpose he was wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, thus shedding the first blood of the revolution. While these events were taking place, the parties were fast reaching such a degree of exasperation, as would have brought on a general and sanguinary conflict. At this juncture, the Reverend Mr. Barnard interposed, and by his judicious persuasions prevented the approaching catastrophe. He represented to Colonel Leslie that the day was so far spent, that he would not be able to reach the place were the stores were deposited, before night, even if the draw were then let down, and that such was the determined spirit of the militia and people in general, that a passage could not be forced without great carnage on both sides. Colonel Leslie at last concluded to send a message to Colonel PICKERING, pledging his honor, that if he would let him pass the bridge, so that it might appear a voluntary act on his part, he would abandon the attempt to seize the stores, and immediately after passing the bridge, turn back again towards Marblehead. Colonel PICKERING ordered his armed men, and the assembled multitude, to arrange themselves on both sides of the road, facing inwards, the draw was let down, the British regiment marched through the silent ranks of the patriots, advanced a few rods beyond the bridge, countermarched, returned with a quick step to Marblehead, reembarked, and set sail from the harbor that night.

On the 19th of April, of the same year, the war began at Lexington and Concord. While transacting business in his office as register of deeds, Colonel PICKERING received information through a militia officer of Danvers, the town adjacent to Salem on the road to Lexington, of the passage of the British troops towards Concord. He instantly despatched an order to the Danvers company to march towards the scene of the expected conflict; and called together as many of the inhabitants of Salem, as he could collect in the streets. They were of opinion, that as the day was then so far advanced, and the distance so great, it would not be possible for them to render any essential service on the occasion. It was, however, concluded, that it would be best to commence the march, if for no other reason, at least to give evidence of their disposition to encourage, and if possible, aid their brethren who were nearer the scene of action, in defending their property from violence and their soil from invasion. Colonel PICKERING accordingly led them on, and, after a rapid and fatiguing march of more than twenty miles, arrived at the close of the day, just in time to witness the retreat of the British through Charleston.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

In the year 1776, five thousand men were called for from Massachusetts, to recruit the army, of which number seven hundred was the portion allotted to Essex county. Colonel PICKERING assembled his regiment within the walls of the First Church in Salem, made known the dangers and the wants of the country, exhorted his men to offer their services to the common cause, and at the close of his address, stepped forward as a volunteer. His example was quickly followed, and he soon appeared at the head of a regiment, at the quarters of the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey, who, with his usual discernment, selected him for the office of adjutant general; and he continued in this and other stations, closely attached to the person of Washington, and in the full enjoyment of his confidence, through all the perils and vicissitudes of the war, and the equally trying scenes of his administration of the government to the very close of his public life. Colonel PICKERING was elected by congress a member of the "Continental Board of War;" and when General Greene resigned the highly important post of quarter-master general, he was appointed his successor, at the suggestion of Roger Sherman. At the end of the war, he fixed his residence in Philadelphia, and was soon after deputed by the government of Pennsylvania, to visit their remote interior settlements, for the purpose of adjusting a violent and dangerous controversy, occasioned by the claims of certain emigrants from Connecticut. This commission called for all his courage and resolution, and he discharged his duty with great firmness and success. As illustrative of the angry and lawless passions to which he was exposed, the following facts deserve to be related: his residence was at this time in the celebrated "Vale of Wyoming," near what is now Wilkesbarre. In the month of June, 1788, a gang of ruffians, dressed in disguise, with their faces painted black, tore him from his bed at midnight, pinioned his arms, and conveyed him into the depths of the forest; there they subjected him to privation and ill treatment in a great variety of forms, fastened heavy chains upon his limbs, and repeatedly threatened to take his life. After exhausting all their arts and efforts, in a vain attempt to extort promises, in opposition to what he deemed his duty in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, they concluded not to dip their hands in his blood, and released him from his confinement. At the end of twenty days from his sudden abduction, he reappeared in the midst of his family, who had given up all expectation of ever again seeing him alive. So much was he altered by the sufferings and hardships he had endured, that his children fled from his presence, affrighted

by his haggard, unshaven appearance, and his wife looked upon him with consternation, as upon an apparition.

Colonel PICKERING was a member of the convention called in 1790, to revise the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, and maintained a highly respectable standing in that distinguished body. He was particularly active in promoting the cause of education, and procured the insertion of the following article: "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

In 1791, President Washington appointed him postmaster general, which office he held until the close of the year 1794. About this time, he was charged with several very important negotiations with the Indians, and was sole agent to treat with those tribes, collectively known as the "Six Nations." On the resignation of General Knox, in 1794, he was made secretary of war, and in 1795, he was appointed by Washington his secretary of state; this office he continued to hold until the month of May, 1800, when he was removed by President John Adams.

Upon leaving the department of state, he returned to his farm in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, then near the borders of settlement, and devoted himself to the toilsome labors of felling the forest, and cultivating the untilled soil. From this humble seclusion, he was allured by his friends in Massachusetts, who prevailed upon him to return to his native state. By their spontaneous liberality, he was enabled to discharge a considerable debt that had accumulated while he was engaged in the service of his country; and to purchase a small farm in the county of Essex, which he continued to cultivate and superintend to the time of his death. He was elected to the senate of the United States by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1803, and again in 1805. At the expiration of his second term in 1811, he turned his attention exclusively to agriculture. Soon after, he was again drawn into public life, as a member of the "Executive Council;" and also, as a member of the Board of War, appointed in Massachusetts, to protect the state from invasion. In 1814, he was elected to the house of representatives of the United States from the district in which he resided, and finally retired from public office in 1817. He died in Salem, the place of his residence, on the 29th of January, 1829. Agricultural pursuits, an extensive literary and political correspondence, the conversation and company of his friends, the affairs and interests of his immediate neighborhood, and such

objects of a more general nature, as would be likely to engage the attention of a liberal and active mind, and a generous and philanthropic heart, gave employment and vivacity to his last years. His old age, spent in the tranquil and undisturbed society of his family and relatives, was such as might well be desired by the patriot and Christian. He buried his wife not long before his own departure. She united all that is lovely, with all that is venerable, and was every way worthy of being the companion of his life, and the sharer of his trials and his honors. His printed writings on agricultural, political, and miscellaneous subjects, are numerous; and at the time of his death, he was thoroughly preparing himself, to give to the public, a biography of his friend, Alexander Hamilton; a task undertaken at the request of the family of that great man.

Colonel PICKERING inherited from his ancestors a sound and vigorous constitution, and enjoyed through life an uncommon degree of health and strength. His frame was large and athletic, and his figure, countenance, and manners, combined in suggesting the noble energy and Roman fortitude of his character to every beholder. His death, which occurred after a brief illness, was occasioned by a disease in the larger blood vessels near the heart; and although then in his eighty-fourth year, he had experienced none of the infirmities, either physical or mental, usually attendant upon old age.

The qualities of his mind corresponded with those of his body. To whatever subject his thoughts were turned, the most striking views of which it was susceptible were instantly presented. Both in speaking and writing, his style was unrivalled for the simplicity, closeness, and strength of its structure, and the purity and correctness of its language. But it was in his conversational powers that he particularly excelled his contemporaries. It was the enviable privilege of his friends, to contemplate in his admirable descriptions of men, manners, and transactions, a representation of the scenes and circumstances of his long and eventful life, almost as vivid and distinct, as they could have been to an actual, original observer. The integrity of his heart and life were acknowledged and admired, even by his opponents. From childhood to old age, temperance, industry, sincerity, benevolence, honor, and truth, guided his conduct. Although he had been to a very great extent exposed to the allurement of camps and courts, neither a stain nor a shadow was ever cast upon the purity of his heart, the innocence of his life, or the simplicity of his manners. Well did he deserve the tribute which was drawn from the late John Randolph on the floor of congress:

"No man in the United States," said that extraordinary individual, "has been more misunderstood, no man more reviled, than Alexander Hamilton, unless, perhaps, the venerable member from Massachusetts, who generally sits in *that* seat, and whom, whatever may be said of him, all will allow to be an honest man. The other day, when on the compensation question, he was speaking of his own situation; when his voice faltered and his eyes filled at the mention of his poverty; I thought I would have given the riches of Dives himself for his feelings at the moment—for his poverty was not the consequence of idleness, or extravagance, or luxury, nor of the gambling spirit of speculation: it was an honorable poverty after a life spent in laborious service, and in the highest offices of trust under government, during the war of independence, as well as under the present constitution."

Colonel PICKERING was a sincere, thorough, and consistent republican, in his principles, habits, feelings, and manners. He appreciated the value of his own rights, and was ever as ready to protect the rights of others as his own. Reason and revelation both taught him, that we are all of one blood, brethren and equals. The Bible was the object of his habitual study and meditation, and the religion which he had examined and professed in his early manhood, received his obedience and support through a long life, and was found an all-sufficient source of comfort, resignation, peace, and satisfaction, on the bed of death. The memory and example of such a man are among the most precious possessions of his countrymen. His name will be more and more honored, as the lapse of time removes him from the shadow of those clouds of error, prejudice, and passion, which always encompass the passing generation. Even now, the youthful scholar, as he gazes on the noble features of TIMOTHY PICKERING, while exploring the history of the American revolution, proudly acknowledges and ardently admires an assemblage of private and civic virtues, which Plutarch would have rejoiced to commemorate. As he thinks of the venerable patriot bending over his plough, and literally earning his bread by the sweat of his face; the image of Cincinnatus, the great Roman, rises before him; and when he considers his unsullied and unassailable integrity, truth, and justice, Aristides, the good Athenian, seems to be in his presence. But when he contemplates in his single character, their virtues combined, and the whole adorned, illuminated, and hallowed, by the bright and heavenly radiance of the Gospel, he exclaims, "Cedite Romani****** Cedite Graii."

Engraved by J. B. Longacre from a Painting by C. B. King

A. S. Johnston

JOSIAH S. JOHNSTON.

JOSIAH STODDARD JOHNSTON, for many years the representative of the state of Louisiana in the senate of the United States, was a native of Connecticut. He was born on the 25th of November, 1784, at Salisbury, a town in the north-western corner of the state, pleasantly situated among the declivities of the Green mountains, and near the falls of the Housatonic river. He was the eldest son of Dr. John Johnston, a physician of eminence, who had married Miss Mary Stoddard, a young lady connected with the highly respectable family of the same name, long settled in that part of New England. When his son was about six years old, Dr. Johnston removed with his family to Kentucky, at that time not yet admitted into the Union, and still exposed to the hardships of a newly settled country, and the warlike incursions of the Indians. He selected as his place of residence the county of Mason, then just laid out, on the banks of the Ohio river, and at a plantation near the town of Washington, on which he first settled, he continued to live until his death, in 1831. His son was sent back to Connecticut when about twelve years of age, and remained there, at school, for some time. He acquired an excellent education, the evidence of which appears in the strength, clearness, and simplicity of his style, as a writer and public speaker, and was displayed through life in his conversation, and in his fondness for literary pursuits. After his return to Kentucky, he was graduated at Transylvania university, then lately founded at Lexington, and soon after commenced the study of the law with Mr. Nicholas, a leading member of the bar. He entered on the practice of the law in Mason county, but after a short time passed there, he resolved to try his fortunes on the new and wide theatre which was opening for ambition and enterprise, in the south-western portion of the Union.

In the early part of the year 1805, Mr. JOHNSTON repaired to Natchez, and remained a short time, with a view to select that spot which should appear most desirable as his future residence. Lou-

isiana, lately obtained from the French, was still under a territorial government, and except along the borders of the Mississippi, but very thinly inhabited and very little known. In the interior, a few forts originally established by the French colonists on the principal streams, had led to the rise of small villages; but these were remote from each other, and the intermediate country was in the possession of the Indians, or the first settlers, who had here and there taken possession of spots which seemed to promise more than usual advantage, either from their situation or the excellence of the soil. He chose the country through which the Red river passes, one that he foresaw was destined to increase rapidly in population and wealth; and, after a short visit to Natchitoches, ultimately fixed himself at Alexandria, a town in the parish Rapides, the site of an old Indian village. This continued to be the place of his permanent residence until his death, a period of nearly thirty years.

When Mr. JOHNSTON arrived at Alexandria, he found himself in the midst of a country, rich indeed in all that nature could bestow of fertility of soil and resources for prosperity and wealth, but thinly inhabited, far from the comforts and advantages of regions longer known, with few of the useful restraints which laws and population impose, and peopled by men who sought rapidly to increase their fortunes, or who preferred the life of adventure held out to them, to the less exciting pursuits they had left. The rural occupiers of the territory had acquired very much the manners and habits of life that were displayed by the hunters; and a large portion of the French and Spanish colonists had grown up in those rude and lawless habits, which are natural on a frontier constantly liable to invasion by the savages. Under the former government they were far removed, not only from the restraints, but the protection of the laws, and they had become accustomed to maintain their social relations by reliance on their individual prowess, rather than by appeal or submission to the laws. The territorial government of the United States could have possessed but small authority in that remote and thinly peopled region, even had it been completely organized, and in peaceable progress; but instead of this, it had to encounter the insurrectionary movements which were made at that time in the Valley of the Mississippi; and it was, besides, in a state of very imperfect and inefficient organization. Among a population thus constituted, Mr. JOHNSTON, at the age of twenty-one, commenced the career of active life. He was the daily witness of affrays and personal contests—of the ebullitions of a rude and violent people; he was himself a man of much

personal courage, as well as of a manly and resolute spirit; yet he soon acquired among his neighbors a popularity and influence which he never lost. His firmness, discretion, and strict sense of justice preserved him, in those troublesome times, from unfortunate collisions which few escaped; and they afforded him a still more gratifying source of pleasure and pride, by making him, on innumerable occasions, the successful umpire and mediator in occurrences, which, without such friendly aid, might have led to unfortunate and fatal results.

Self-dependant, full of patriotic spirit, devoted to his profession, desirous of an independence, the result of his own exertions, and ambitious of an honorable fame, he devoted himself, with indefatigable industry, to his business as a lawyer, extending his range of practice far into the adjoining districts, and subjecting himself without hesitation to every personal inconvenience. When the first territorial legislature assembled at New Orleans, he was elected a delegate from the parish where he lived, and he continued to hold his seat there, until the admission of Louisiana into the Union, in the year 1812. During this period, he was regarded as one of the leading members of the assembly, useful from his industry and practical knowledge, and obtaining general confidence from his candid and honorable character.

As soon as the new government went into operation, he was appointed a judge of the district in which he resided, embracing the parish of Rapides, and several others adjoining it. When, however, Louisiana was invaded by the British, at the close of the war, he employed himself with his neighbors in raising a regiment of volunteers; he purchased with his own money a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and, being himself placed in command, hastened to New Orleans. The decisive and gallant victory of the 8th of January, 1815, had, however, occurred in the mean time, so that he was unable to participate in the glories of that action; but he was directed by General Jackson to superintend the removal of the wounded prisoners to the hospitals, a duty congenial to his kind disposition, which he performed with great promptness and skill. Shortly afterwards he returned to Alexandria, to resume his judicial functions, and these he continued to exercise until the year 1821, with increased respect and confidence on the part of his fellow citizens. At the close of the war he married a highly accomplished and amiable lady of Louisiana, since eminently distinguished in all the various scenes in which she has been placed, throughout her husband's long and successful public career. She was the daughter

of Dr. John Sibley, of Natchitoches, a gentleman for many years resident in that remote country, from whose observations upon it much useful scientific information has been derived, and who has represented its interests in several important situations with great ability.

In the year 1821, Mr. JOHNSTON was called upon to serve his fellow citizens on a broader field, by being elected a representative in the seventeenth congress of the United States. From that period until his death, his name is connected with the principal political events of the times, always preserving the same character of public usefulness and private excellence. He soon showed himself too able a supporter of the interests of his constituents, and too intelligent a statesman, to be overlooked by those whom he served. After his term as a representative expired, in the year 1823, he was elected to the senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of his friend, Mr. Brown, as minister to France. That term expiring, he was reëlected to the same place in the year 1825, and again in the year 1831, on the latter occasion being chosen by a legislature in which the majority were of a party opposed to himself, but among whom the integrity, ability, and patriotism for which he was distinguished, outweighed all political predilections. It is well known, that twice during this period it was the wish of his friends to offer him the nomination of governor of Louisiana, an office to which he might reasonably have aspired, with every chance of success; but he believed that his services could be more usefully rendered in the place he held, and where such was the case, no motive of personal ambition could have induced him voluntarily to change it.

While Mr. JOHNSTON was in congress, he took part in most of the important topics that occupied the attention of that body. For several years, he filled with great ability the place of chairman of the committee on commerce, and, as such, made a report on the state of our trade with the British colonies, abounding with very valuable information, and containing many important suggestions in regard to that interesting dispute. These he sustained in a speech, which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the general policy on this question contended for by himself and his political friends. must be admitted to present the subject in a striking point of view, and to embrace a statement of the historical facts connected with it, remarkably comprehensive and clear. To commercial subjects, indeed, he devoted much of his attention; his inquiries among

practical men were constant, and the results of them were daily noticed in the performance of his public duties. He extended them even beyond the ordinary topics which were brought to the consideration of the senate, and constantly occupied himself in investigations and reflections in regard to them, which, when occasion served, he endeavored to apply to purposes of practical utility. He cherished strongly the desire, also entertained by many of our statesmen, of introducing into the intercourse between nations, those rules which should protect the merchant amid the dangers of war, and preserve the social intercourse of mankind, and the peaceful and beneficial arts, from those dangers which should of right be attendant only on the designs and the contests of the hostile. "With regard," he remarks, in one of his speeches, "to the policy of mitigating the practice and laws of nations, in maritime war, and of establishing the same rules that have obtained in other wars—to except non-combatants and private property from its operations—there can be but one opinion here. Such a modification of the public law on the ocean, would deprive war of most of its destructive and unhappy consequences; would cause that, now permitted against regular commerce and private rights—producing disorders, violence, and crimes, ruinous to one class by making them a prey to the needy and desperate adventurers who rob and plunder by commission, and demoralizing in its influence on all—to cease to disgrace the code of civilized nations; and this object is worthy the profound attention of this government, and of the enlightened age in which we live." In pursuance of these just and benevolent views, he strongly urged the adoption of two principles, whenever it could be effected in our arrangements with foreign nations—that neutral vessels should protect the goods on board, to whomsoever they might belong, and that the articles not to be furnished by neutrals to the contending parties, should be limited to the smallest possible number of such as are of direct use, and essential in their operations. To effect these results, may be regarded as just objects of ambition to every American statesman.

Nearly allied with the subject of commerce, is that of finance; and to this the mind of Mr. JOHNSTON was admirably adapted. Perhaps to no branch of public affairs did he give so much of his attention, and whenever any subject connected with it came under the consideration of the senate, he brought to bear the resources of a memory remarkably well stored with facts, and a mind of great precision and clearness. He was for many years a member of the committee of

finance in the senate, and his sentiments and views on these subjects were always listened to with more than usual respect, even by those who entertained different opinions in regard to the constitutionality and expediency of some measures which he strenuously advocated.

The question of the tariff, of course, occupied much of his attention, not merely as a representative of Louisiana, deeply interested in a question essentially affecting her interests, but as an American statesman, always regarding anxiously those measures which had a direct or remote bearing on the vital principles of the government of his country. Representing in the senate a state whose interests in relation to protecting duties are more doubtful and more nicely balanced than those of any other in the Union, it was always his anxious wish, as he declared, to preserve the rights of one part without sacrificing those of the other. He strenuously maintained the right of congress to lay duties for revenue, for the protection of domestic industry, and as a measure of counteraction against foreign countries. He also repeatedly advocated the policy of extending the aid of the government to sustain our own establishments, until they acquired strength to stand without competition. He admitted the difficulty of compromising and reconciling, by legislation, all the conflicting interests of a nation, so extensive, so diversified in soil, climate, and productions, but held it, as he said, "to be the duty of a statesman, upon great questions of policy, to cast his feelings into the common stock—to look to his country, her constitution, her capacities, her wants, her interests—to act for all, as far as is compatible with the rights and interests peculiarly intrusted to his charge." Engaged himself entirely in the cultivation of cotton, this testimony in favor of a fair protection of American manufactures is more than usually strong, and its force is not a little increased by the liberality and entire freedom from every selfish motive, which distinguished him throughout his public career. But this was not the only result of his situation as a planter. His own experience enabled him to trace to its true cause the depression in the culture of cotton, which was attributed, by several of the Southern states, to the legislative measures he advocated. He has pointed out, with singular felicity and force, the inevitable effects of bringing into a market formerly supplied entirely by themselves, the abundant productions of a new soil, and an extensive territory, peculiarly well fitted for their growth and increase. Though not himself interested in the cultivation of sugar, he devoted to a subject extremely important to his state, constant research, attention, and study. He applied

himself to every source whence useful information could be obtained, and communicated it to his constituents at home. He watched faithfully in congress every suggestion or measure that could affect its prosperity, and his sentiments on this subject agreeing with his general theory of protection, he opposed, with zeal and skill, every measure likely to interfere with it. He has shown, with unusual ability, how closely it is connected with nearly every branch of domestic industry; and his speeches in congress, and occasional essays on this subject, are among the most successful works of the kind that have appeared, during a period fertile in such productions.

Entertaining these opinions in regard to protective policy, and maintaining as he always did, with unshaken firmness, the great principles of the constitution, it may be supposed he viewed with no favorable eye the novel doctrine of nullification, which, unfortunately found advocates among some of the ablest statesmen of the South. Had he been convinced of the existence of the evil, he would still have indignantly opposed the measures resorted to for its remedy. No one had studied with more care the theory of the constitution, or watched more acutely the actual results, the practical interpretation, which had grown out of the experience of forty years. The political and constitutional history of America was his favorite study, and he delighted to trace back to their springs the various views developed in it, and the peculiarities of a system over whose preservation he anxiously watched. In a speech delivered by him on the celebrated resolution of Mr. Foote, he has introduced with great effect the results of his researches and reflections on this interesting topic. He has proved that the doctrine now promulgated has never met the approbation of any state of the Union, even in times of high excitement; and he has shown, that every precedent, cited or assumed, is wanting in those very points which have been relied on to sustain a theory fatal to our government, if its existence is to continue such as it was, when framed and handed down to us by our forefathers.

But the legislative services of Mr. JOHNSTON were not confined to questions of this general and absorbing nature. In the practical character of his mind, and in his personal activity, his constituents and the whole country had a guaranty never deceptive, that all measures of importance, public or private, were attentively watched and considered. The debates of the senate, during the whole period he was seated there, as well as the numerous useful measures, the

adoption of which he urged, facilitated, and not unfrequently secured, give ample evidence of this.

Unfortunately, however, for his country, not less than his friends, this life of beneficial service was destined to be abruptly terminated. He was in the habit of returning to Louisiana, after the close of the sessions of congress, and in the spring of 1833, made that journey, accompanied by his only child, a young man of seventeen. He was received at home with the welcome that always awaited him there; and public dinners were offered to him by his constituents and friends. Having occasion, however, to visit his plantation on the Red river, he first determined to seize the opportunity to proceed as far as Natchitoches, the residence of his father-in-law. For this purpose, he embarked on board of the Lioness, a small steamboat navigating the upper waters of the state. On the evening of the 18th of May, 1833, he and his son left the village of Alexandria. The captain of the vessel, with inexcusable negligence, had a considerable quantity of gunpowder in the hold, unknown to the passengers. About daylight the following morning, as the steamboat was passing the Rigolet Bon Dieu, an explosion took place, occasioned, as is supposed, by a candle taken by one of the sailors into the hold, where the gunpowder was. Three successive explosions, following each other with great rapidity, were heard at a considerable distance, and such was their force, that the fore cabin, the deck above the boiler, (which in the western steamboats is placed on the main deck forward, towards the bow of the vessel,) and the hold under the boiler, were all scattered in fragments over the water. Some of the passengers who were thrown out, saved themselves by seizing these fragments In about two minutes after the catastrophe, the hull of the boat sunk, leaving the ladies' cabin floating on the surface; and from this portion of the wreck several persons were rescued. Mr. JOHNSTON, who was lying in a lower berth, sunk with the boat; but his son, who was in the upper range, was thrown into the water at a considerable distance, and was ultimately rescued by the exertions of some persons, who, seeing him floating on the current, came in a boat from the shore. He was found to be much wounded and burned, but after a confinement of several weeks, regained his health, free from any permanent injury. The body of Mr. JOHNSTON, recovered from the waves, was interred at the cemetery opposite to the village of Alexandria, among the tears of those who regarded him as much with the warm attachment of private friends, as with the respect due to his public services and worth. The sudden termination of a valuable

life, attended with incidents so shocking, must, under any circumstances, have created no common sympathy. But it may be said with truth, that this feeling was displayed in a degree more than usual, in the present instance. Not merely among those who were united with the deceased by a community of political sentiment or personal relations—but among those who differed from him in the former, and who knew him only as a public man—were readily and warmly expressed sincere regrets at the loss which all had experienced. In the usual organs of public sentiment, this was strongly exhibited, and afforded a gratifying proof of the high place in general esteem which may be secured by a life of so much industry and purity.

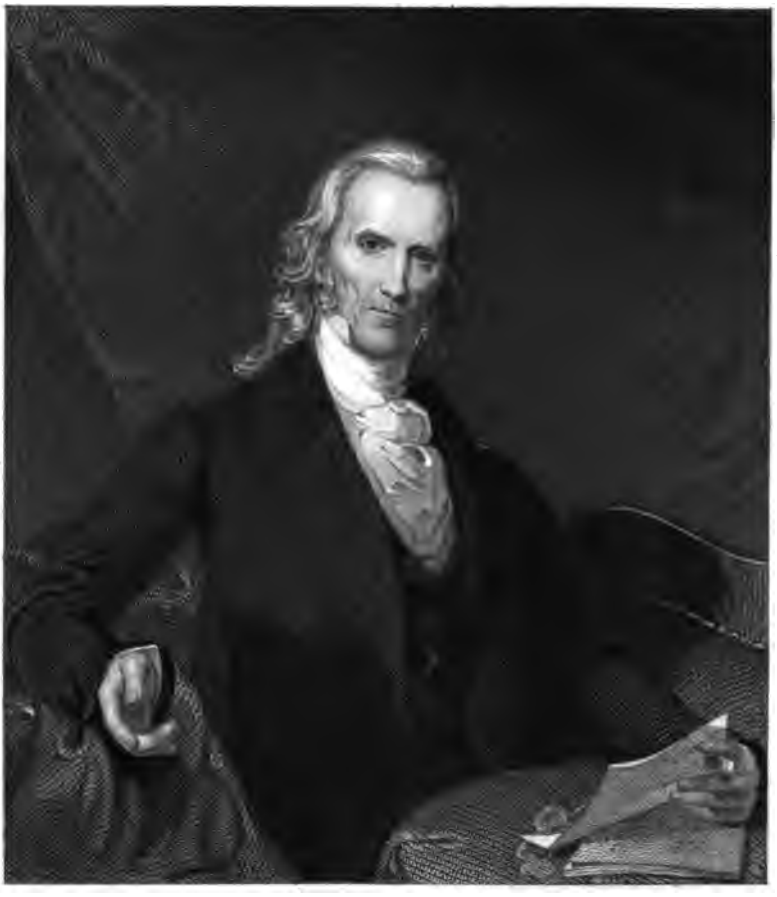
The character of Mr. JOHNSTON, as a public man, may be gathered from the previous sketch of his life. It was that of one eminently practical, well-informed, useful, and straight-forward. He spared himself no personal or mental labor, in thoroughly understanding the subjects that came under his notice. He was industrious in attending to the various duties that were intrusted to him, and his fidelity to his constituents is best proved by his continued popularity amid the various changes of party. On the topics which more especially affected the prosperity and interests of the community he represented, his information was complete, and his opinions derived all the weight to which this circumstance entitled them. To ensure its accuracy, he omitted no pains. To promote what he believed a true policy, he spared no exertions. On the floor of the senate, and in the chambers of its committees, he was prompt, efficient, and attentive. He suffered no occasion to be lost, when his individual aid could promote the cause he desired to advocate. He took his stand decidedly in the political contests of the day, and on the exertions and steadiness of no one could his friends more firmly rely. But he did it with no selfish views. He was always free from the suspicion of private ends. However firm, he was not less disinterested; and he never sought, directly or indirectly, those objects of personal ambition, which it is hard for any one, moving in the scenes and contests of political life, not to desire. His principles were the result of his deliberate reflections, and throughout life were manfully avowed and consistently maintained. He did not aspire to the character of an orator, but what he said was never heard without attention, and always bore strong marks of the clearness and simplicity of his mind. If he had, in his active career, somewhat neglected those studies merely literary, in which, when young,

he had indulged himself, and to which, in moments of leisure, he always gladly returned, yet his speeches evince an excellent and cultivated taste, and his style is that of a well educated and well read man. To these qualities as a politician, should be added yet another—the kindness of his disposition and the mildness of his demeanor, which, while not interfering with his firmness and consistency, yet gave him an influence and personal consideration that he never lost, amid all the warm and exciting scenes in which he was called on to engage.

In his person, Mr. JOHNSTON was rather below the usual height, but his figure was graceful, and his countenance strikingly indicative of his calm and intelligent character. In his habits, he was social; fond of the amusements of society, and deriving constant enjoyment from an agreeable intercourse with the world. His manners were easy, prepossessing, and unaffected; his conversation, various and gay. There was a warmth and a singleness of purpose in what he said and did, which won the regards of all around. As a friend, they to whom he was attached will bear testimony, that no human being ever more faithfully cherished and performed the duties of that relation—no sacrifice of his time, of his active exertions, or of his fortune, was spared—and those who had a right to regard him as such, knew, absent or present, that he was never found wanting in readiness, fidelity, and zeal. With such dispositions it is hardly necessary to add, that in discharging his domestic duties, he was unsurpassed in excellence and purity. As a husband, a father, a brother, and a son, each successive year, and every situation of his life, seemed to afford him new occasions of displaying instances of exemplary conduct. What wonder, then, if a fate so sudden should be more than commonly deplored—if private sorrow should be deeply blended with the regret which was widely spread, where he was only known for his public services and worth. If there has lived a man to whom could be truly applied the eloquent and affectionate tribute, inscribed by the poet on the monument of his friend, it is the subject of this notice.

> Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honor clear!
> Who broke no promise, served no private end,
> Who sought no title, and who lost no friend;
> Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
> Praised, wept, and honored, by the friends he loved.

he had indulged himself, and to which, in moments of leisure, he always gladly returned, yet his speeches evince an excellent and cultivated taste, and his style is that of a well educated and well



HUGH L. WHITE.

HUGH L. WHITE was born in Iredell county, North Carolina, in the year 1773. He was the son of respectable and influential parentage, of Irish descent. His father, James White, was a soldier in our memorable struggle for independence; afterwards a general of Tennessee militia, and served with high honor and distinction in the late Creek war. At the close of the Revolution he removed first to Virginia, and then emigrated to Knox county, Tennessee, when Hugh was thirteen years of age. At the time of which we speak, Tennessee was a wilderness; and into this wild abode was the family of Mr. White ushered, with no defence but personal prowess, and no means of subsistence but what were seized in the face of danger and death. But the hardships and perils which the early pioneer had to encounter from the natural obstacles of the unsubdued forest and its terrific inhabitants, have been too often and glowingly described, and are too well known, even to infancy, to need relation here. But in these dangers and perils the family of Mr. White bore no ordinary share. At the age of nineteen Hugh volunteered as a private soldier in the Indian campaigns. In these he was soon distinguished as a brave, vigilant, and untiring soldier. He possessed a constitution peculiarly fitted for rugged duties—a constitution which was preserved in elasticity and firmness, almost in primitive vigor, beyond the boundary of three-score years. These scenes of his early life are interesting only as they were the rough school of discipline in which he acquired and strengthened those hardy Roman virtues which have distinguished his character throughout his whole public career.

The early education of HUGH L. WHITE, was not as thorough and extensive as he could have wished it, and as it would have been under more favorable circumstances. The refinements of polished scholarship had hardly been introduced into Tennessee at that early day. But of the more practical and useful branches of education, such as

qualified him for the discharge of the immediate duties of life, he acquired the utmost that the schools of that day afforded. He was instructed in the ancient languages by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Roane, gentlemen of no mean proficiency in scholarship. To these attainments he afterwards added a course of mathematics, under Professor Patterson of Philadelphia. In 1795 he left Philadelphia for Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he entered the office of James Hopkins, an eminent lawyer, under whose superintendence he devoted himself with great ardor to the study of the law. Having completed the usual preparatory course, he returned, in 1796, to Knoxville, where he commenced the practice of his profession.

For the five succeeding years Judge WHITE devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of his profession, and rose to high and honorable distinction at the bar. The science of jurisprudence was his especial study; and with such zeal and ability did he enter into the investigation, that he was selected at the early age of twenty-eight, from a body of able and experienced lawyers, to fill the office of Judge of the Superior Court; at that time the highest judicial tribunal in the State. This seat he held till 1807, when he resigned.

As a lawyer, Judge WHITE was one of the most distinguished in the early history of Tennessee. Nor was the bar of Tennessee at that time wanting in men of the first order in legal attainments. Jackson, Whiteside, Overton, and G. W. Campbell were then in the prime of their legal celebrity, and with such men was he associated upon the bench. In legal argumentation, Judge WHITE had but few superiors; yet he was always as fair and honest in debate as he was cogent. He never turned aside to take advantage of quibbles, and quirks, and senseless technicalities; but built his premises upon the plain and obvious meaning of the law, and with abstract truth as his guide, he seldom failed to carry his point. He viewed every thing like cunning and subtlety in the pleadings of the bar with detestation, as he always did the tricks and manœuvres, and intrigues of party politicians. There need be no better evidence that Judge WHITE possessed every qualification of the able, profound, and enlightened jurist, than that he was afterwards offered, and would have been appointed on condition of his accepting a seat upon the Supreme Bench of the United States, which distinguished post of honor he declined. When he was elevated from the bar to the bench, he brought to the discharge of its difficult functions all the qualities already enumerated, and superadded to the essential attributes of judicial authority, great mildness and suavity of manners; yet was he always firm, and dignified, and uncompromis-

ing when duty demanded. To maintain such an office with popularity and respect, both from the people and the bar, is the surest test of merit. Spurious talents or superficial learning cannot be played off undetected upon the bench. The strict integrity of Judge WHITE was proverbial. His opinions were generally remarkable for perspicuity and strength, and many of them able specimens of judicial acumen and research. His long services in his judicial capacity acquired for him the greatest respect and esteem from the gentlemen of the profession, and conferred lasting honor on the bar of Tennessee. Such ample opportunities as were presented during twelve years' experience on the bench, and especially, when afterwards practised upon and enlarged in the course of his political experience, soon rendered Judge WHITE thoroughly acquainted with the spirit and character of the laws of his country.

An interesting anecdote is told of this period of his life, quite characteristic of his republican simplicity. A student of law came a considerable distance to be examined by him, in order to obtain license. The young man had heard much of his ability and learning as a jurist, and expected to be much embarrassed in his presence; but he mustered courage, visited his residence, and on being informed that the Judge was on his farm, went out, and intercepted a man ploughing, and asked for Judge WHITE. "I am the man," was the reply. "I wish to get license to practise law, and have come to be examined." "Well, sir, if you will be good enough to come down into the shade, I will attend to it with a great deal of pleasure." He secured his plough-horse, got over into the cool shade, and took the young man through a most learned and rigid examination—found that he was well qualified, and, after inviting him to his house, and showing him every mark of hospitality and politeness, gave him a license.

In the year 1807 he resigned his judgeship, and retired, in a great measure, to his farm. Agricultural pursuits had always been a favorite occupation, even in the midst of laborious studies; and he would be frequently found in the intervals of his engagements, ploughing in his fields. There appears always to have been a congeniality between great and good minds in the pursuits of agriculture. We pretend not to divine the philosophy of it, or to determine, as has often been contended, why it is that patriotism exists in so much more elevated and fervent devotion in the retirement of the farm than in the busy throng of crowded cities. Whether the fact be so or not, certain it is that many of the noblest instances of sterling patriotism and high-souled principle that have ever figured in the drama of human actions, have been found

among those most devoted to agricultural pursuits. Hypocrisy and intrigue, which are the elements of contracted minds, have little to do in the retirement of the farm; but far removed from the long catalogue of human frailties and vices with which they are so painfully conversant in public life, the good and the great are gratified with the view of the brighter side of humanity, and have there to deal with characters and actions more congenial with the simplicity and greatness of their own natures. Like Jefferson, and Washington, and Madison, Judge WHITE could be induced to leave his farm only when duty, which was the supreme law of his nature, demanded; and when that was performed, he left the rivalries and commotions of public life without a regret, to those whose business it was to foster them.

About this time Judge WHITE was appointed District Attorney for the United States, which station he soon resigned. In 1807 he was elected a senator to the State legislature. While a member of this body he performed many important services to Tennessee, and was the author of a system of land law, for which Tennesseans, who recollect the frauds and controversies of the old system, will ever be grateful. The speech in which he advocated the measure was one of the first which he made as a politician, and was said to have been one of unusual power. In 1809 the judiciary of Tennessee was re-organized, and a Supreme Court instituted. In this high tribunal he was appointed to preside, although he was not a candidate, and was absent from the seat of government two hundred miles when the legislature conferred the appointment. He held this office for six years, and from his faithfulness and ability acquired the utmost respect and popularity from the people, by whose delegated authority he had been appointed. Previous to his resignation in 1815 he was elected President of the State bank. Under his auspices the institution flourished in a high degree, and acquired much character for the prudence and ability of its administration, and the stability of its operations. It obtained a standing in the west equally honorable to the State and beneficial to its financial concerns. He continued twelve years at the head of this institution, including the period of the late war—a period which will be long remembered in the political history of the United States for fiscal distrust, confusion, and difficulty; and which, but for the energies of one man, would have rendered bankrupt the credit of the whole nation.

But while engaged in the double duties of Judge and President of the Bank, he did not forget his country. During the darkest period of the Creek campaign, when General Jackson was surrounded with difficulties such as would have crushed any other man, his brave men

contending not only with savages, but with famine and want, and sustaining life on roots and acorns, Judge WHITE left the bench, and with a single companion, the Hon. Luke Lea, started for the wilderness, hired an Indian guide, and after several days and nights of perilous adventure, found the general's encampment. He told the veteran, that having heard of his difficulties, he had left his business, and come to share his toils and dangers. It was determined, after some consultation, that the Judge should return through the wilderness to Tennessee, and exert his influence in raising volunteers and procuring provisions for the distressed and famishing army. While absent on this expedition, he missed several terms of his court, and by the laws of Tennessee the judges were paid only in proportion to duty performed. The legislature, in consideration of the great services he had rendered General Jackson, passed an order that there should be no deduction of his salary. But with characteristic magnanimity he declined the offer, and would receive no more than that for which he rendered actual service. He said that his country was in distress, that the aid he had rendered was without the hope of reward, and that he would receive none.

In 1817 Judge WHITE was again elected senator by a majority approaching unanimity; and served with distinction the period for which he had been elected.

But the abilities of HUGH L. WHITE were too distinguished, and too well appreciated by his countrymen, to be confined within the limits of a single State. He was appointed, in 1820, by President Monroe, one of the commissioners under the Spanish treaty, in conjunction with Littleton W. Tazewell and Gov. King. Previous to this time his attention had been confined chiefly to the laws affecting individual rights and private property. The rights and laws of nations had little connexion with the administration of justice in an interior State; but as the sphere of his operations was widened, he was found to possess mental resources corresponding to the increased demand. With such success did he apply himself to the details of commercial, maritime, and international law, that he won the esteem and confidence of his able colleagues—men who had been experienced, and profoundly versed in the science of public law. He held this appointment until 1824, at which time the commission expired. In the same year he was again unanimously appointed a Judge of the Court of Appeals, but he declined the appointment. In 1825 General Jackson resigned his seat in the United States senate, and Judge WHITE was unanimously elected to fill out the term. In 1827 he was again unanimously elect-

ed to serve the next six years. And yet again, amidst the hottest party rancor, the legislature bestowed their undivided suffrage upon him for another term of six years, in 1835.

We are now to review the life of Judge WHITE in the most important and interesting scenes of the many in which he took a part. Hitherto we have viewed him chiefly as a jurist and a local politician. But his life and acts became now identified with national history and national interests. And from the character which he acquired in this political capacity, from the ability and faithfulness with which he discharged the functions of the high stations which he occupied, must he stand or fall to the people of this nation. In the year 1825 Judge WHITE brought into our national councils great weight of character. At that time he had the unlimited confidence of every party in the government. During this era of great achievements in our political history—memorable for the revolutionizing of our national policy, for the demolishing of long-established institutions, and the building up new; for bold and untried adventure in the theory and practice of government—which will distinguish this era of our political history for ages to come—during all this mighty conflict of principle, Judge WHITE was constantly upon the ground. He bore his part in them all, as friend or foe. This period is too fresh in the memory of all, and the measures too notorious to be detailed in this place. But during this comparatively short period of his public career, more weighty subjects were discussed, more doubtful points of national policy settled, more difficulties removed from the free administration of government, more political heresies broached and exterminated, than in any other period of American history of the same length. The whole theory of government was subjected to an inquisition, which spared neither the ancient, nor the venerable, nor the strong, nor the weak. In the scales of justice or honesty they were all weighed, and found the level, or the supposed level, of their merits. Its maritime and commercial policy was revolutionized. Its banking establishments upturned. The powers of the general government, in internal improvements and executive patronage, were scrutinized. The origin and nature of the federal compact was discussed with earnestness and ability; and its value calculated, and its fundamental principles bandied about with the familiarity of toys. With what character Judge WHITE passed through these scenes, is known to every man in the nation

In 1832 John C. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and the senate was left without a presiding officer. It was

on the eve of that memorable session, when the debate upon the tariff had well-nigh severed the Union. The first talent of the nation was there congregated, and every man had arrayed himself upon one side or the other. The prize at issue was the CONSTITUTION. And the leaders of the respective divisions came armed with the resolution to carry their measures, though disunion on one side and civil war on the other were the consequence. Proud in the strength of conscious greatness, irritated by supposed aggressions or tyranny, and discordant to a degree that almost banished deliberation, they foresaw that troublous times were not far distant. It was seen that no ordinary mind could be able to curb the outbreakings of passion, and to maintain its equipoise through so doubtful a contest. In full view of all these difficulties, Judge WHITE was elected president of the senate; and how he sustained the exalted expectations of that body and the nation is now a matter of history. The firmness, impartiality, decision, and dignity with which he presided over the stormy debate, proved that no false estimate had been placed upon his character.

The intellectual character of Judge WHITE would bear a fair and honorable comparison with the first talent in the senate. As an orator, in the popular acceptation of the term, he is not so distinguished as many members in the house of Congress. He possessed little of that rich profusion of imagination which throws such a charm over the oratory of a Clay, or a Pinckney, or a Wirt. But as a reasoner and debater, he exhibited strength and cogency of argument on more than one occasion, which would rank him as one of the able logicians on the floor of Congress. In the discussion upon the Panama Mission he was particularly distinguished; and the combatants in that debate were no striplings in mind and attainments. The profoundest talent in the nation, and the deepest constitutional learning, were brought to bear upon it.

One of the most powerful efforts he ever made in the senate was on the morning after he received the tidings that the hand of death had torn asunder the tenderest fibres of human affection. It was his speech on the Indian bill. This question had occasioned great embarrassment and concern to President Jackson. Judge WHITE was chairman of the committee; the weight of the measure devolved upon him, and procrastination was certain defeat. But he appeared in his seat, asked no indulgence, made no apology; and, showing a fortitude worthy of his character, made one of the ablest and most successful efforts ever witnessed in that body, and carried the measure. Such lofty and honorable views of the nature and obligation of a trust, such

intense devotion to its fulfilment, distinguished him in every station of life. This honorable and enviable fact in his history will be remembered when this generation shall have passed away.

At the election for President of the United States, in the autumn of 1836, Judge WHITE received the votes of the states of Georgia and Tennessee. He retired from the senate in 1839 to private life, and died at his residence near KNOXVILLE, on the tenth of April, 1841, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

intense devotion to its fulfilment, distinguished him in every station

Painted by J.W.Jarvis. Eng. by A.B.Durand from a Copy by James Herring.

JACOB BROWN.

Jac: Brown

JACOB BROWN.

MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1775. His first ancestor in America, George Brown, was an emigrant from England before the establishment of William Penn, on the Delaware river, and was well known as a man of vigorous and cultivated intellect. His children and grandchildren partook of his character, and several of them were for many successive years, prominent members of the provincial government of Pennsylvania. Samuel Brown, the father of the subject of this memoir, and the fourth in the line of descent from George, was a man of high character and strong mental endowments. He was the third of the family who had professed the principles of quakerism, and was a frank, liberal, and enlightened man. His father left him in possession of a valuable, flourishing, and unincumbered estate; but with the hope of making it still more valuable, he imprudently embarked in some commercial enterprises which proved unfortunate, and his property was totally sacrificed.

JACOB BROWN was at this time about sixteen years of age; and it was remarked that his father's pecuniary misfortunes wrought an instantaneous change in his character and conduct. In a spirit of manly resolution, superior to his years, he formed the determination of retrieving the fortunes of his family, and from that moment he devoted himself assiduously to the task. To this object are to be traced his succeeding exertions in preparing himself for the practical business of life; and in these exertions, perhaps, were laid the foundations of that distinguished reputation, which he has transmitted to his descendants. From the age of eighteen to twenty-one, he was entrusted with the management of a large and respectable school at Crosswicks, New Jersey; and during this period of time, his efforts to improve his mind were laborious and unremitted. During the two next years he was employed in that section of the country which now constitutes the state of Ohio, in surveying and laying out public lands.

Soon after his return in 1798, he removed to the city of New York, and was again induced, by the solicitation of his friends, to take charge of a school for a few months. But the cultivation of his mind, and the preparation of its powers for future action, were still the principal objects of his exertions; and at that excited period in the political history of the country, an ample theatre for improvement was presented to him in the discussion of the great topics of public interest on which parties were divided. He did not fail to convert the occasion to his use. He took a prominent part in political debates, and the press exhibited frequent essays from his pen, which attracted no inconsiderable share of the public attention. During his residence in New York, he commenced the study of the law, but soon abandoned it as uncongenial with his disposition for active and adventurous pursuits. An opportunity being presented to him to make a purchase of land on the borders of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, in that part of the state of New York which is now the county of Jefferson, he established himself upon it while it was wholly uncultivated, and built the first human habitation within thirty miles of the lake. Under his direction the new settlement soon became flourishing and extensive; and to the influence, which he subsequently acquired with the legislature of the state in various public situations, which he filled, the county of Jefferson owes much of its early prosperity and wealth. Immediately after effecting some necessary improvements, he removed his parents to his new abode: he established them near him, and to the close of his life he devoted himself to their happiness and comfort.

The active and enterprising spirit, by which General Brown was distinguished in his youth, was chastised by repeated discouragements. But his energy never for a moment forsook him; his first and last acts bear the same impression of fearlessness and resolution. His early life was a scene of constant trial. He was thrown, when a mere youth, upon his own resources; and his powers were tasked to the utmost in providing simultaneously for his education and his subsistence. But every obstacle was overcome by the same firmness and perseverance, which, in the progress of his military career, enabled him to triumph over difficulties far more trying and formidable.

In 1809, he was appointed a colonel in the militia; and in the following year he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

At the declaration of war in 1812, he was selected to defend the eastern frontier of Lake Ontario and the southern shore of the river

St. Lawrence, a line extending from Oswego to Lake St. Francis, and nearly two hundred miles in length. The duty imposed on him was, from the exposed condition of the frontier, highly responsible and delicate; and from the inadequate means at his disposal, it was also both embarrassing and vexatious. It was, however, discharged with his characteristic promptitude and vigor; the vulnerable points were put in the best possible state of defence; and on the 4th of October, he succeeded in repelling an attack made upon him at Ogdensburg, where he had fixed his head quarters, by a British force far superior to his own in numbers. In this affair, the enemy lost several men in killed and wounded, while on his own side, no one sustained the least injury.

The term for which he was called into service having soon afterwards expired, he returned to his civil pursuits at Brownville. But his capacity for war had attracted the attention of the government, and the command of a regiment in the regular army was immediately tendered to him. The offer, however, from a determination on his own part to submit to no sacrifice of rank, was declined.

In the spring of 1813, the regular forces having been almost wholly withdrawn from Sackett's Harbor, to act in the reduction of Little York and Fort George, in Upper Canada, a demonstration against that post was made by a British force from Kingston, under the command of Sir George Prevost, and Sir James Yeo. Colonel Backus of the dragoons, who had been left at Sackett's Harbor with about four hundred regular troops, having been but a few days on the frontier, and being unacquainted with its localities, immediately despatched a message to General BROWN, who resided within eight miles of the post, requesting him, in a noble spirit of disinterested ness, to come and take the command, and to bring with him as large a body of the militia, as he could assemble. To this request, alike honorable to both parties, an immediate assent was given. Colonel Backus was promptly reinforced by several hundred men of General BROWN'S brigade, and their united forces were disposed by the general with admirable skill and judgment. The attack of the enemy was fierce, and for a time successful; but after a series of skilful and spirited movements on the part of General BROWN, and a most gallant and resolute resistance by the regular troops, the British forces were completely vanquished, and retreated precipitately to their boats. The British loss was about four hundred and fifty, while that of the American force was only one hundred and fifty-six. Among the slain was the brave and chivalrous Backus, who

fell, animating the courage of his men by gallant exhibitions of his own.

General BROWN again retired to his rural abode and occupations, and in the month of August ensuing, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army. He descended the St. Lawrence in the fall of the same year, on the expedition against Montreal, which was frustrated by a want of concert and coöperation between the commanding generals of the two divisions of the northern army.

Early in 1814, General BROWN was promoted to the rank of major-general, and was placed in command of the northern division of the army at French Mills. The military reputation of the country was at this period exceedingly depressed. The principal enterprises, in which our forces were embarked during the latter part of the year 1813, had proved abortive; and a strong feeling of disappointment had taken possession of the public mind—a feeling rendered more acute by the confident hopes, with which they had been undertaken. The officers of the army were deeply chagrined, both on account of the ill success attending the expeditions referred to, and the unfavorable impression which prevailed with regard to their military capacity. General BROWN labored during the winter, to inspire his subordinates with a resolution to retrieve the reputation of the army; he had the good fortune to gain their confidence, and, with the aid of many spirited and efficient coadjutors, he succeeded not only in renewing the spirit of the northern army, but in uniting to it that mechanical discipline, which was indispensable to give it effect. To these exertions are to be ascribed the brilliant triumphs, which he subsequently achieved.

In the spring of 1814, he marched his division from French Mills to Sackett's Harbor, and thence to Buffalo, and after executing a few necessary preparations, he crossed the Niagara river and carried Fort Erie, which surrendered without any resistance.

On the 5th of July, General BROWN fought the battle of Chippewa, the first in that series of distinguished successes, which have so eminently contributed to exalt our military character. The British forces had made a rapid advance from the Chippewa with the hope of finding the American commander unprepared for their reception, and were hardly formed in line, when General Scott was ordered to make an attack with the first brigade. The combat was maintained with great gallantry on both sides in the open field, where victory must necessarily turn on superior bravery or skill. After a brief, but sanguinary conflict, and before the second brigade under General

Ripley could be brought into the field, the whole British force was routed, and retired precipitately under cover of their works on the Chippewa creek, which alone secured them from total destruction.

On the evening of the 25th of July, the two armies again met at Niagara, in the immediate vicinity of the falls. General BROWN had sent forward General Scott with his brigade to divert the enemy from the design of crossing to the opposite side of the strait, for the purpose of seizing upon the depot of the American army, and thus cutting off their supplies of munitions and subsistence. The moment General Scott came in sight of the enemy, he made an attack, and despatched intelligence to General BROWN, who was in a few minutes on the field, followed by General Ripley's brigade. The combat now became obstinate and bloody beyond all parallel. It was fought like the battle of Chippewa, in the open field, but with advantages on the part of the enemy, against which nothing but superior courage and skilfulness in evolution could have prevailed. Here, as at Chippewa, the American army was completely victorious. The enemy had chosen his own ground; he was attacked in a commanding position, which he had occupied with superior numbers, and which was sheltered by a height elevated above the surrounding country, and garnished with artillery. From this position he was driven at the point of the bayonet, his cannon captured, and his forces completely put to rout. After this discomfiture, he was reinforced by fresh troops from Fort George and Queenston, and made three unsuccessful attempts to regain possession of the height by charging the American line. The two last charges were among the most desperate in the annals of warfare. They were decided entirely by the bayonet, and the result is the best evidence of the firmness and spirit, which animated the contending parties.

The skill evinced by General BROWN in meeting all the fluctuations of the battle with such movements as were necessary to counteract the advantages of his opponents, and to give effect to his own; the coolness, with which he executed his plans; and the spirit of self-devotion, in which he maintained his position at the head of his troops until the victory was complete, although he had received two severe wounds, and was so much exhausted by the loss of blood, that he was supported on his horse by the members of his military family; have given him a high and enviable rank in the military history of his country.

It was not until the 2d of September that he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to resume the command of the army. It

was then enclosed within the walls of Fort Erie, environed by superior numbers, worn down by a long and harrassing siege, destitute of necessaries as well as comforts, deficient in munitions of war and abandoned, as it were, to its own efforts. The enemy's force amounted nearly to four thousand men, while the American army did not exceed half that number. With this inferior force, enfeebled by laborious service, General BROWN, after having executed all his preparations with profound secresy, made a sortie on the 17th September, at midday, drove the besiegers from their entrenchments, and either destroyed or rendered their works totally unserviceable. The loss of the enemy was one thousand, and that of the American army five hundred. On the 21st, the enemy abandoned his position, and retired beyond the Chippewa. Thus was executed one of the most brilliant achievements of the war, and it may be said to have crowned the other successes on the Niagara frontier, in which there had been a successive display of firmness, intrepidity and persevering resolution, with an instance of boldness as spirited as any to be found on the records of modern warfare.

General BROWN was eminently qualified to excel in the military profession. With a constitutional insensibility to fear, he united a moral courage, which was equally proof against surprise or intimidation. Responsibility he never feared; he was always ready to meet any emergency however remotely connected with the discharge of his duty to his country, or to himself; nor could any obstacle, however formidable, deter him from the execution of his objects. Indeed, it was on the most trying occasions, that he appeared to the best advantage; when dangers were greatest, his coolness and resolution were most conspicuous. With all the energy and vigor which distinguished his plans, they were never rash or imprudent; he never embarked in an enterprise without fortifying it with such means of achievement, as might, with skilful management and unshaken firmness, be safely relied on, as adequate to the execution of his object.

It is worthy of remark, that General BROWN never failed in any enterprise which he conducted himself, or which he caused to be executed under the direction of others. Every partisan movement undertaken by his orders, by officers chosen by himself, was successful. He was, in truth, not less remarkable for the sagacity with which he selected the individuals best calculated for the particular service to be performed, than for the promptness with which he always resolved on the right course of action in different emergencies

The vigor which he infused into his offensive movements, was altogether unlooked for by the British generals on the Niagara. The operations of the American army had in general been vacillating and dilatory; and the effect of General BROWN's movements was, for this reason, the more decisive. The firmness with which the British forces were encountered on the open field of battle, was also wholly unexpected. It had been vauntingly said that the "British bayonet was irresistible;" but on the Niagara, man was opposed to man, and the tide of victory was more than once turned against the British forces by the very weapon to which they appealed as the test of their invincibility.

At the close of the war, General BROWN was retained in the command of the northern division of the army, and after the reduction of the peace establishment in 1821, he became commander-in-chief. From that time he resided in the city of Washington until the 24th February, 1828, when he fell a victim to an attack brought on by a disease which he contracted at Fort Erie, and from the effects of which he was never exempt until it terminated his life.

In person, General BROWN was tall, erect, and commanding; his countenance was animated and full of intelligence; and it was not difficult to trace in its strong and decided expression, that energy of character, which he has so deeply impressed on the actions of his life.

The impression made upon the public mind by General BROWN's decease, while yet in the full vigor of manhood, was deep and universal; an impression corresponding with his high character, and unsullied fame. The estimation in which he was held by those with whom he was most immediately connected by official relations, will be best illustrated by the following general order, issued by the direction of the president of the United States on the occasion of his decease.

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
February 28th, 1828.

ORDERS.

"The secretary of war, by direction of the president of the United States, announces to the army the painful intelligence of the decease (the 24th of February) of Major-General BROWN.

"To say that he was one of the men who have rendered most important services to his country, would fall far short of the tribute due to his character. Uniting with the most unaffected simplicity, the highest degree of personal valor, and of intellectual energy, he

stands preëminent before the world, and for after ages, in that band of heroic spirits, who, upon the ocean and the land, formed and sustained, during the second war with Great Britain, the martial reputation of their country. To this high and honorable purpose, General Brown may be truly said to have sacrificed his life; for the disease which abridged his days, and has terminated his career at a period scarcely beyond the meridian of manhood, undoubtedly originated in the hardships of his campaigns on the Canada frontier, and in that glorious wound, which, though desperate, could not remove him from the field of battle, till it was won.

"Quick to perceive, sagacious to anticipate, prompt to decide, and daring in execution, he was born with the qualities which constitute a great commander. His military coup d'œuil, his intuitive penetration, his knowledge of men, and his capacity to control them, were known to all his companions in arms, and commanded their respect, while the gentleness of his disposition, the courtesy of his deportment, his scrupulous regard to their rights, his constant attention to their wants, and his affectionate attachment to their persons, universally won their hearts, and bound them to him as a father.

"Calm and collected in the presence of the enemy, he was, withal, tender of human life; in the hour of battle, more sparing of the blood of the soldier than his own. In the hour of victory, the vanquished enemy found in him a humane and compassionate friend; not one drop of blood, shed in wantonness or cruelty, sullies the purity of his fame. Defeat he was never called to endure; but in the crisis of difficulty and danger, he displayed untiring patience and fortitude, not to be overcome.

"Such was the great and accomplished captain whose loss the army has now, in common with their fellow citizens of all classes, to deplore. While indulging the kindly impulses of nature, and yielding the tribute of a tear upon his grave, let it not be permitted to close upon his bright example, as it must upon his mortal remains. Let him be more nobly sepulchred in the hearts of his fellow soldiers, and his imperishable monument be found in their endeavors to emulate his virtues.

"The officers of the army will wear the badge of mourning for six months on the left arm, and hilt of the sword. Guns will be fired at each military post, at intervals of thirty minutes from the rising to the setting of the sun, on the day succeeding the arrival of this order, during which, the national flag will be suspended at half mast."

J. A. D.

Engraved by J. B. [illegible] from a painting by T. S. [illegible]

ALEXANDER MACOMB,

MAJOR GENERAL U. S. A.

ALEXANDER MACOMB.

For what of thrilling sympathy,
Did e'er in human bosom vie,
With that which stirs the soldier's breast,
When, high in god-like worth confest,
Some noble leader gives command,
To combat for his native land?
No; friendship's freely flowing tide,
The soul expanding; filial pride,
That bears with craving, fond desire,
The bearings of a gallant sire;
The yearnings of domestic bliss,—
E'en love itself, will yield to this.—JOANNA BAILLIE.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB, formerly at the head of the army of the United States, was one of those men whom his country delights to honor; for he served faithfully, and rose gradually in the army, and was thoroughly acquainted with his duties. He, perhaps, more than any other man in our army, may be considered as having been a soldier from the cradle. He was born at Detroit, April 3d, 1782. The city of Detroit, at that time, was a garrison town, and among the first images that struck his eyes were those of the *circumstances* of war. Such early impressions often fix the character of the man.

The father of the subject of this sketch was a fur merchant, respectably descended and connected. He removed to the city of New York while ALEXANDER was yet an infant. When he was eight years of age, he placed him at school at Newark, in New Jersey, under the charge of the Reverend Doctor Ogden, a man of mind, belonging to a family distinguished for talents. The time was one of high excitement: the French revolution was raging with great fury, and our countrymen took sides. In every enlightened nation, boys are among the first to take impressions, which are often lasting. It is not a little singular that the late major general of the army of the United States, and a former secretary of war, General Cass, were, during the French revolution, officers of Lilliputian bands at the seminaries in which they were educated: the one at Newark in New Jersey, and the other at Exeter academy in New Hampshire. Not only is military fire

kindled in the hearts of youth, at such an age, but in such associations they learn much of that part of the art of war which depends upon ardor, quickness, and imitative power, rather than upon deep reasoning. Being acquainted with all possible forms in which men can be placed, and the time required for each movement, the officer in battle with all this elementary and practical knowledge at once in his mind, can compare, combine, and decide without hesitation. The deep interest boys take in military exercises is beautifully described in an unpublished poem, found among the papers of that elegant classical scholar and poet, the late Nathaniel H. Carter, Esq., who was a member of the military corps at Exeter about eight or ten years after Gen. Cass had left the institution.

"And now the labors of the studious day
Conclude, and give the evening hours to play,
At beat of drum with sword and armor sheen,
The mimic train-band form upon the green.
With snowy frock and trowsers fringed with red,
And blood-tipt feather nodding on his head,
The youthful soldier struts, and slaps with pride,
The jetty box, suspended at his side;
While o'er him waves the motto'd flag of stars,
Which join in friendship MERCURY and MARS.
Meantime the captain, of his station proud,
Unsheaths his sword, and gives the word aloud;
Along the line with gait majestic walks,
And much of discipline, and order talks;
Observes the rogue, and sternly reprimands,
Who turns his head, or disobeys commands;
Then calls subalterns to the grave debate,
And tells of tactics, used in ev'ry state,
Explains what code the English corps adopts,
And which the mighty power of Gallia props.
Proud was this CHIEF of BOYS, and happier far,
Than Europe's scourge, and thunderbolt of war,
Who terror struck to prostrate prince and throne,
In every clime from Wolga to the Rhone,
Reign'd haughtiest monarch of the world awhile,
Then sunk the tenant of a little isle."

In 1798, while MACOMB was quite a youth, he was elected a member of a select company, which was called "The New York Rangers." The name was taken from that Spartan band of rangers, selected from the provincials, who from 1755 to 1763, were the élite of every British commander on lake George, and the borders of Canada. At the time he entered the corps of New York Rangers, congress had passed a law receiving volunteers for the defence of the country, as

invasion by a French army was anticipated. This patriotic band volunteered their services to government, which were accepted, but he soon left this corps, and obtained a cornetcy at the close of the year 1798, and was commissioned in January, 1799. General North, then adjutant general of the northern army, saw the merits of the youthful soldier, and took him into his staff, as deputy adjutant general. Under such a master as the intelligent and accomplished North, MACOMB made great progress in his profession, and in the affections of his brother officers of the army. The young officer that Hamilton noticed, and North instructed, could not fail to be ambitious of distinction. He visited Montreal, in order to observe the discipline and tactics of the veteran corps kept at that important military post, and did not neglect his opportunities.

The thick and dark cloud that hung over the country passed away,—a great part of the troops were disbanded, and most of the officers and men returned to private life; a few only were retained; among them was MACOMB, who was commissioned as a second lieutenant of dragoons, and sent forthwith on the recruiting service, but, it was not then necessary to push the business, and as he was stationed in Philadelphia, he had opportunities to associate with the best informed men of the city, and found easy access to the Franklin and other extensive libraries, which advantages he did not fail to improve.

When his body of recruits was formed, he marched with it to the western frontiers to join General Wilkinson, an officer who had been left in service from the revolutionary war. In the company of Wilkinson (a man of talents and fascinating manners, notwithstanding his vanity,) and of Colonel Williams, the engineer, he gathered a mass of materials for future use. With them he went into the Cherokee country to aid in making a treaty with that nation. He was on this mission nearly a year, and kept a journal of every thing he saw or heard. This was a good school for one whose duty it might hereafter be to fight these very aborigines, and, in fact, the lessons of the wilderness were not lost on one of mind and observation. The corps to which he belonged was disbanded, and a corps of engineers formed, to which he was attached as first lieutenant. He was now sent to West Point, where he was by the code there established, a pupil as well as an officer. Being examined and declared competent, he was appointed an adjutant of the corps at that post, and discharged his duty with so much spirit and intelligence, that when the first court-martial, after his examination, was convened, he was appointed judge advocate. This court was ordered for the trial of a distinguished

officer for disobeying an arbitrary order for cutting off the hair. Peter the Great could not carry such an order into execution, but our republican country did; and the veteran, Colonel Butler, was reprimanded for not throwing his white locks to the wind, when ordered so to do by his superior. The talents and arguments exhibited by MACOMB, as judge advocate on this court-martial, brought him into great notice as a man of intellect, as well as soldier. He was called upon to compile a treatise on martial law, and the practice of courts-martial, which book became subsequently the standard work upon courts-martial for the army of the United States. In 1805, MACOMB was promoted to the rank of captain in the corps of engineers, and sent to the sea-board to superintend the fortifications which had been ordered by an act of congress. By this service he became known to the first men in the country, and his merits were duly appreciated from New Hampshire to the Floridas.

In 1808, he was promoted to the rank of major, and acted as superintendent of fortifications, until just before the war, when he was advanced to a lieutenant colonelcy. He was again detailed to act as judge advocate on a court-martial for the trial of General Wilkinson, who had called the court on Colonel Butler. He added to his reputation in this case. Wilkinson was his friend, but MACOMB discharged his duty with military exactness.

At the breaking out of the war of 1812, he left the seat of government, where he had discharged an arduous duty, in assisting to give form and regularity to the army just raised by order of congress. All sorts of confusion had prevailed from the want of a uniform system of military tactics: he was fortunate in his exertions. When there was honorable war he could not be satisfied to remain, as it were, a cabinet officer, and wear a sword only to advise what should be done, which seemed to be the regulation of the army in respect to engineers. He therefore solicited a command in the corps of artillery that was to be raised, and was gratified by a commission as colonel of the third regiment, dated July 6, 1812. The regiment was to consist of twenty companies of one hundred and eighteen men each. The command was, in fact, though not in rank the command of a division. His reputation assisted in raising this body of men, and in November of that year he marched to the frontiers with his command and with his troops spent the winter at Sackett's Harbor. He contemplated an attack upon Kingston, but was defeated in his plan by the fears of some, and the jealousies of others. He soon distinguished himself at Niagara and Fort George, at the time Commodore Chauncey

was endeavoring to bring the enemy's fleet to battle on Lake Ontario. The next service he performed was under General Wilkinson, and if the campaign was not successful, MACOMB was not chargeable with any portion of the failure.

In January, 1814, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and appointed to a command on the east side of Lake Champlain. Nothing of importance in the history of General MACOMB took place, although he was constantly on the alert in the discharge of his duties, until the coronal of his fame was won at the defence of Plattsburgh. This defence our limits will not permit us to describe with any minuteness: suffice it to say, that in the summer of 1814, Sir George Prevost, governor general of the Canadas, had received a great augmentation of his regular forces, by detachments from the army which had fought in Spain and Portugal, under the Duke of Wellington. These were among the best troops of England, and he now determined to strike a blow upon our frontiers that should be decisive of the war, and bring our nation to terms at once. His fleet, on Lake Champlain, was considered superior to ours, and he was well informed that we had not there any army of consequence. Early in September he pushed on towards Plattsburgh, and met, for several days, with little opposition. His error was delay; but he wished to move safely, and saw nothing to prevent his progress. Previous to the 11th, there had been some smart skirmishing, in which the British found more courage and efficiency than they expected from troops so hastily called out. Early on the 11th, the British gave battle by land and water—fifteen hundred men of the regular army, and certain bodies of militia, made up MACOMB's army. The enemy was fourteen thousand strong. The battle was a decisive victory on the part of the American forces; Macdonough captured the British fleet, and Sir George returned to Canada the next night. The victory was as brilliant as unexpected. Honors were voted MACOMB in every part of the country. New York and Vermont were foremost in their tributes of respect. The president promoted him to the rank of major general, dating his commission on the day of his victory. The success had a happy effect on the negotiations then going on at Ghent, and unquestionably paved the way for a treaty of peace. Whoever wishes to see a detail of this battle, should turn to the pages of an excellent memoir of the general from the pen of "George H. Richards, Esq., *a captain in* MACOMB's *artillery, in the late war;*" who has since left the service. This work comes warm from the bosom of friendship, but contains much beauty and accuracy of detail. We acknowledge ourselves

indebted to that memoir for many of the incidents of the life of General MACOMB.

After the close of the war he commanded at Detroit, his birth, place. He was received at this military post with distinguished honors; many remembered his person, and all had kept his reputation in view as reflecting honor upon the territory in which he was born. He continued at that post attentive to his duty, and devising liberal measures for the people of that region, without confining his exertions to any particular portion of the territory, until in 1821 he was called to Washington to take the office of chief of the engineer department. On the receipt of this information, he was addressed by all classes of the people of Detroit, in the most exalted language of friendship and regard. On his arrival at Washington, he assumed the duties of the bureau he was called to, and discharged them to the satisfaction of the government, and the army. On the death of General Brown, commander-in-chief of the army, General MACOMB was appointed to that station. His nomination was confirmed by the senate, and although there were some difficulties in the way about relative rank, General MACOMB was supported in his office not only by the president and the senate, but by the almost entire voice of the people. Matters, which at one time threatened discord and confusion, were happily surmounted, and harmony restored. He remembered the advantages he received at West Point, and was constantly the friend of that institution. Great commanders may arise in the exigencies of a nation, from the bosom of private life; but the regular hopes of the people for military men, must be founded on the provision made to educate youth in the art and science of war; for which we must be prepared until the time arrives when *the sword shall be beaten into a plough-share, and the spear into a pruning hook.*

General MACOMB continued to be commander-in-chief of the army until his death, on the 25th of June, 1842.

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